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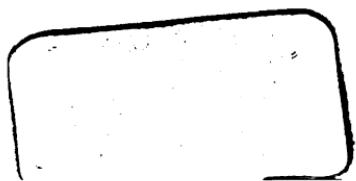
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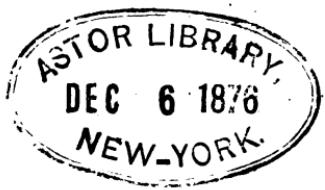
AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
HISTORY OF ROME,

3507
BY
Cariss
M. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

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ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK I.

* * * * I. [EPEIUS] being separated by a BOOK
storm from Nestor his leader, and driven I.
in a different direction, founded Metapon-
tus: while Teucer, refused admittance at
home by his father, who resented his pu-
sillanimity in not taking vengeance for the
ill treatment shewn to his brother, sailed
to Cyprus, and there built a city which he
called Salamis, the name of his birth-place.
Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, took possession of
Epirus, Phidippus of Ephyra in Thesprotia.
As to Agamemnon, the King of Kings, he
was carried by the force of adverse winds to
the island of Crete, where he founded three
cities, two of which he named in honour of
his native country, Mycenæ and Tegea, the
third

BOOK I. third he called Pergamus, in memory of his late conquest. Not long after, through the machinations of Clytemnestra his wife, in concert with his cousin-german Ægisthus, who was actuated by an hereditary hatred toward him, he was treacherously murdered. Ægisthus enjoyed the throne seven years, when Orestes, son of Agamemnon, in association with his sister Electra, a woman of manly spirit, slew both his mother and Ægisthus. That his deed was pleasing to the gods, seemed manifest by the uncommon length of his life, and the felicity of his reign; for he lived ninety years, of which he reigned seventy. The same warmth of resentment was displayed by him, in regard to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, for after Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helen, had been betrothed to Orestes, Pyrrhus found means to supplant him, and to procure her hand in marriage; on which Orestes slew him at Delphi. During this period, Lydus and Tyrrhenus, brothers, who were in possession of the kingdom of Lydia, were compelled by the insufficiency of the provisions afforded by the soil, to determine by lot which of them should lead out one half of the inhabitants to some new settlement. The lot fell on Tyrrhenus, who

who having effected a passage into Italy, BOOK
gave from his own an illustrious and ever-
lasting name to the country, to the inhabi-
ants, and to the adjacent sea. After the
death of Orestes, his sons, Penthilus and Ti-
samenes, reigned three years.

II. Nearly at this time, about eighty years
after the taking of Troy, the family of Pe-
lops, which, since the expulsion of that of
Hercules, had held the dominion of Pelopon-
nesus, was in turn expelled by the descend-
ants of that hero. Their leaders in the en-
terprise of recovering the sovereignty were
Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus,
descended from Hercules in the fourth de-
gree. About the same time kingly govern-
ment ceased at Athens, the last king being
Codrus, son of Melanthus, a man deserving
of particular notice. The Athenians being
severely distressed by an invasion of the La-
cedemonians, the Pythian god was consulted,
who declared by his oracle, that the party,
whose leader should fall by the hands of the
enemy, would prove victorious. On this,
Codrus laid aside his royal apparel, dressed
himself as a shepherd, and went into the
midst of the enemy's camp, where purposely

BOOK exciting a quarrel, he was slain by persons
I. to whom he was unknown. His death produced immortal honour to himself, and victory to the Athenians. Must not every one admire the man, who sought death with the same diligence that cowards use to preserve life? His son Midon was the first archon at Athens. From him his posterity were called by the Athenians Midontidæ. However, these, and the succeeding archons down to Charops, held the office during life. The Peloponnesians, on their retreat from the Athenian territory, founded the city of Megara, midway between Athens and Corinth. At this time a fleet of the Tyrians, who were then sovereigns of the sea, founded the city of Gades, on the remotest coast of Spain, at the western boundary of our globe, and on an island surrounded by the main ocean, divided from the continent by a very narrow straignt. The same people, a few years after, built Utica in Africa. The sons of Orestes banished by the family of Hercules, after being tossed from place to place by various misfortunes, beside the hardships of the sea, in the fifteenth year, fixed their residence in the islands round Lesbos.

III. During

III. During this period, Greece was shaken **B O O K**
by violent convulsions. The Achæans, driven **I.**
out of Laconia, seized on that tract which they
possess at present; the Pelasgians removed to
Athens; and a young man of warlike spirit,
by name Thessalus, by nation a Thesprotian,
accompanied by a numerous body of his coun-
trymen, seized by force of arms a territory
now called from his name Thessalia, formerly
the country of the Myrmidons. Considering
this, we have reason to wonder at those wri-
ters, who, in relating the affairs of Troy, men-
tion that country by the name of Thessalia;
and this is done by many, but most frequently
by writers of tragedy, who are least of all
entitled to such licence; since they do not
speak in the character of the poet, but in
that of the persons who lived at the time.
If any one assert, that those people were
called Thessalians from Thessalus, son of
Hercules, it will be incumbent on him to
account for their never having assumed the
name before this latter Thessalus. A little
before this, Aletus, son of Hippotis, sixth in
descent from Hercules, improved and en-
larged Corinth, formerly called Ephyra, which
being seated on the isthmus, forms the prin-
cipal barrier of Peloponnesus. But we need

BOOK not be surprised at Homer mentioning Corinth, because, in the character of the writer, he calls not only this city, but several Ionian colonies, by the same names which they bore in his own time, although they were built long after the taking of Troy.

IV. The Athenians established colonies at Chalcis and Erethria in Eubœa, the Lacedæmonians one at Magnesia in Asia, and not long after, some inhabitants of Chalcis, sprung, as now mentioned, from the Athenians, were led into Italy by Hippocles and Megasthenes, and there built Cumæ. Some pretend that the fleet was guided by a dove flying before it; others, by the sound of brazen instruments during the night, such as is made in the celebration of the rites of Ceres. A long time after, some natives of this city built Neapolis, and both these states always maintained an extraordinary attachment to the Romans, which renders them worthy of their high reputation, and of the very delightful situation which they enjoy. The latter more carefully preserved the institutions of their original country, but the Cumans were corrupted by the neighbourhood of the Oscians. The great power of these cities in former times

times is proved by the present extent of their BOOK
walls. In the following period, a vast mul- ^{I.}
titude of Grecian youth, impelled by a re-
dundant population to seek settlements
abroad, poured in like a deluge on Asia.
The Ionians leaving Athens under the con-
duct of Ion, seized on the finest part of the
sea-coast, called at this day Ionia, and built
the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Colophon,
Priene, Lebedus, Myus, Erythra, Clazomenæ,
and Phocæa; possessing themselves also of
many islands in the *Ægæan* and Icarian seas,
namely, Samos, Chios, Andros, Tenos, Pha-
ros, Delos, and others of lesser note. The
Æolians now left Greece, and, after long
wanderings, obtained establishments not less
conspicuous, for they built the famous cities
Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Myrina, and Myti-
lene; beside several in the island of Lesbos.

V. Now shone forth with peculiar lustre
the genius of Homer, beyond comparison the
greatest ever known; for the grandeur of his
designs, and the resplendent beauties of his
diction, have given him an almost exclusive
title to the name of poet. This singular dis-
tinction he enjoys, that as there was no pre-
ceding poet whom he might have imitated,

BOOK so of those who followed not one has been
I. able to equal him ; nor can we find any besides Homer and Archilocus, who attained full perfection in that kind of performance, of which the former set the example. He lived at a greater distance than many suppose from the time of the Trojan war, the subject of his poem ; for he flourished about nine hundred and fifty years ago, and was born within the last thousand. On that account, we need not wonder at his frequently using the phrase, “ such men as are in these days ; ” marking thereby a considerable difference between both the men and the ages. Whoever believes that this man was born blind, must himself be destitute of every sense.

VI. In the succeeding period, seven hundred and seventy years ago, the empire of Asia was transferred from the Assyrians, who had held it a thousand and seventy years, to the Medes. Their King Sardanapalus was descended, in the thirty-third degree, from Ninus and Semiramis, the founders of Babylon, and that in such regular succession, that the son, in every instance, inherited the throne of his father. He became quite ener-

vated by voluptuous indolence, and was too BOOK
amply supplied with means of gratification, I.
which led to his ruin ; for he was robbed at
once of life and empire by a Mede named
Pharnaces. [The Assyrians first acquired
universal empire, next the Medes, and after
them the Persians, then the Macedonians.
On the final overthrow of the two Kings,
Philip and Antiochus, who were both of Ma-
cedonian descent, and shortly after the re-
duction of Carthage, the empire of the world
devolved on the Roman people ; between
which time, and the beginning of the reign
of Ninus, the first master of the world, there
intervened a space of a thousand nine hun-
dred and ninety-five years.] In this age Ly-
curgus the Lacedæmonian, a man of royal
birth, the most illustrious of the Grecian
race, framed his laws, so remarkable for their
justice and strictness ; and his system of
education so perfectly calculated to form a
manly character, which, as long as it was
carefully practised, supported Sparta in the
highest degree of eminence. In the course
of this period, about sixty-five years previous
to the building of Rome, Carthage was
founded by a Tyrian lady named Elissa, or,
according to others, Dido. About the same
time,

BOOK time, Caranus, a man of royal extraction,
I. being the sixteenth from Hercules, left Ar-
gos, and seized on the kingdom of Mace-
donia. As Alexander the Great was the
seventeenth in descent from him, he had a
right to boast of his lineage, being derived
from Achilles, on his mother's side, and from
Hercules, on his father's.

VII. Coeval with him, about a hundred and twenty years posterior to Homer, lived Hesiod, a writer of extraordinary judgment and taste, remarkable for the exquisite sweetness of his numbers, exceedingly fond of ease and quiet. As he was next in time to his great predecessor, so was he next in the reputation of his writings. He avoided the imputation of a neglect which Homer incurred, for he has mentioned both his parents and his country; but the latter, in very bitter terms of dislike, out of resentment of a fine, which it had imposed on him. Whilst I am mentioning the affairs of distant nations, a transaction near home occurs to me, which has given rise to great mistakes, and great diversity in the opinions of historians; for some say, that during this period, about nine hundred and thirty years ago, Capua and Nola

Nola were founded by the Tuscans, and to BOOK
this account I readily assent. But how very I.
different is that given by M. Cato, who main-
tains that "Capua was founded by the Tus-
cans, and soon after Nola, but that Capua
had stood, before it was taken by the Ro-
mans, about two hundred and sixty years." If
that is the case, and as two hundred and
forty years only have elapsed since Capua
was taken, the whole length of time since the
building of it, amounts to no more than
five hundred years. For my part, speaking
with due deference to the accuracy of Cato; I
can hardly be persuaded, that so great a city
grew up, flourished, sunk, and rose again, in
so short a space of time. At this period com-
menced the Olympic games, the most cele-
brated exhibition of the kind in the world,
and the best calculated to excite with efficacy
the vigour of both mind and body. They owe
their origin to Iphitus of Elis, who instituted
them, and also a fair, eight hundred and four
years before you, M. Vinicius, entered on
your consulship. Some say that Atreus, ex-
hibiting funeral games in honour of his father
Pelops, instituted this solemnity, about a
thousand two hundred and fifty years ago;
and

BOOK and that, in those games, Hercules carried the
L prize in every kind of contest.

VIII. At this time the archons at Athens ceased to hold the office during life, Alcmaeon being the last so constituted. They were henceforward appointed for ten years only, which practice continued seventy years, and then the government was entrusted to annual magistrates. Of those who governed ten years, the first was Charops, the last Eryx; of the annual governors, the first was Creon. In the sixth Olympiad, (twenty-two years after the commencement of the first,) Romulus, son of Mars, after revenging the injuries suffered by his grandfather, laid the foundation of the city of Rome, on the Palatine hill, on the day of the year whereon the festival of the Parilia is celebrated, from which time to your consulate is a space of seven hundred and eighty-two years. This transaction took place, it is said, four hundred and thirty-seven years after the taking of Troy, and was accomplished by Romulus, through the aid of the Latine legions of his grandfather. I am strongly inclined to accede to the opinion of those who give this account; because, without some assistance, he could hardly have established a new city so near the Veians, Etrurians,

rians, and Sabines, by means of an undisciplined band of peasants, notwithstanding the augmentation of their numbers by the sanctuary opened between the two woods. He formed a council of state, consisting of a hundred men, chosen out of the people, and called fathers, and which gave rise to the term patricians. * * * * *

A horizontal row of 10 black asterisks, evenly spaced, used as a decorative element.

IX. * * * proved a more formidable enemy than had been apprehended: for during two years, he maintained a struggle against the consuls with various success, and even had generally the advantage, and drew a great part of Greece into an alliance with him. Even the Rhodians, hitherto remarkable for their fidelity to the Romans, began now to waver, and to watch the turns of fortune, apparently inclined to the party of the King; Eumenes likewise took no decisive part in the war; nor did his conduct correspond either with his brother's exertions in the beginning, or his own former behaviour. At length, the senate and people of Rome placed in the consulship Lucius *Æ*Emilius Paulus,

BOOK L Paullus, who had triumphed both as prætor and as consul, a man entitled to a character as high as the most exalted idea of merit can reach. He was the son of that Paullus, who with so much reluctance engaged in the battle of Cannæ, so fatal to the commonwealth, and who met death in it with so much fortitude. After a violent conflict he defeated Persius, at Pydna in Macedonia, utterly routed him, seized his camp, and, cutting off all his forces, compelled him to fly in despair out of the kingdom. Perseus, on quitting Macedonia, fled for refuge to the island Samothrace, where he thought himself entitled to the privileges of a suppliant, under the awful sanctuary of the temple. There he was found by Cneius Octavius, the prætor commanding the fleet, who, by argument rather than force, prevailed on him to commit himself to the honour of the Romans. In consequence, Paullus led in his triumph one of the greatest and most celebrated kings of the age. In the same year were two other remarkable triumphs, a naval one of the prætor Octavius, and one of Anicius, before whose chariot was led Gentius King of Illyria. How incessantly envy accompanies eminence of situation, and how closely

closely it fastens on the highest characters, BOOK
may be observed from hence, that, while no BOOK
person objected to the triumphs of Anicius
and Octavius, there were some who strug-
gled to obstruct that of Paullus, although his
far excelled the others, as well in the su-
perior grandeur of King Perseus, as in the
beautiful display of war-trophies, and the
quantity of money carried in it; so much,
indeed, that it brought into the treasury one
million seven hundred and seventy-six thou-
sand and forty-one pounds, thirteen shillings
and four-pence, surpassing in magnificence
every triumph that had yet been celebrated.

X. Antiochus Epiphanes, who laid the foundation of the Olympic temple at Athens, and who was now King of Syria, held young Ptolemy besieged in Alexandria, when Marcus Poppilius Lænas was sent ambassador to him, to require that he would relinquish his design. Poppilius delivered the message, to which the King answered, that he would consider the matter. On this, he drew a circle round Antiochus with a rod, and insisted that he should return an answer, before he passed that line. Thus Roman firmness disconcerted the King's deliberation, and
the

BOOK the order was obeyed. Lucius Paullus, who
I. obtained the great victory above mentioned, had four sons, of whom he had given the two eldest in adoption, one to Publius Scipio son of Publius Africanus, who retained no part of his father's dignified character, except the splendour of his name, and his powerful eloquence, and the other to Fabius Maximus. At the time when he gained the victory, the two youngest were under the age of manhood. When, before the day of his triumph, he was, according to custom, giving a detail of his services in an assembly outside the city, he prayed to the immortal gods, that if any of them looked with unpropitious eyes on his acts, and his fortune, they would vent their displeasure on himself, rather than on the commonwealth. These words, as if uttered by an oracle, robbed him of a great part of his progeny: for of the two sons whom he had retained in his family, he lost one a few days before his triumph, and the other in fewer days after it. About this time the office of censor was executed with uncommon severity by Fulvius Flaccus and Postumius Albinus, for they expelled from the senate Cneius Fulvius, brother of Fulvius the censor, and his partner in property.

XI. Four

XI. Four years after Perseus was conquered ^{B O O K} and became a captive, he died at Alba, at ^{I.} which time, a person called Pseudophilippus, from the falsity of his pretensions respecting his birth,—for he said, that his name was Philip, and that he was of the royal family, though he was sprung from one of the meanest,—seized on Macedonia by force of arms, and assumed the ensigns of sovereignty. But this man soon met the punishment due to his inconsiderate attempt; for Quintus Metellus then praetor, who from his good conduct acquired the title of Macedonicus, gained a glorious victory over him, and the nation; and likewise routed the Achæans, who had recommenced hostilities. This Metellus built the porticos, that surrounded the two temples, erected without an inscription of the founder's name, which are at present surrounded by the porticos of Octavia. He also brought home from Macedonia the groupe of equestrian statues which face the front of the temples, and form at present the principal ornament of the place. In regard to this groupe, it is said that Alexander the Great engaged Lysippus, an artist of singular skill in such works, to form statues of the horsemen of his own troop, who had fallen at

BOOK II. the river Granicus, expressing their likeness in the figures, and to place one of himself (Alexander) among them. This same Metellus was the first who built in Rome a temple of marble, and consequently led the way to what is to be called either magnificence or luxury. It is difficult to find a man of any nation, age, or rank, whose prosperity you can compare with the happy circumstances of Metellus. For besides his very brilliant triumphs, and most ample honours, his decided superiority in reputation beyond any in the state, the long extent of his life, and his zealous and open contests in favour of the commonwealth, against its enemies, he educated four sons, saw them all grown up to manhood, left them all surviving, and honoured with the highest promotions. His four sons carried his bier to the Rostrum. One of them had been consul, and censor, another had been consul, the third was then in that office, the fourth, a candidate for it, and proved successful. Surely this may rather be called retiring happily from the world than dying.

XII. All Achaia, of which a great part had been reduced by the conduct and arms of

of Metellus Macedonicus, was now, as we ~~BOOK~~
~~BOOK~~
said above, strongly inclined to war, instigated I.
principally by the Corinthians, who did not
even abstain from violent insults to the Ro-
mans. To conduct this war the consul Lucius
Mummius was appointed; and about the
same time, the senate resolved on the ruin of
Carthage, in consequence, rather of the Ro-
mans being willing to believe any evil report
respecting it, than of any intelligence re-
ceived, that was worthy of credit. They,
therefore, at the same time elected consul,
though he was a candidate for an aedileship,
Publius Scipio ~~Emilianus~~, the son of Paullus,
as before mentioned, and adopted by Scipio,
son of Africanus, a man nearly resembling in
every virtue his grandfather Publius Afri-
canus, and his father Lucius Paullus; for in
every endowment suited to war or peace, in
extent of capacity, and in acquired know-
ledge, he was the most eminent of the age,
and never either did, or said, aught undeserv-
ing of praise. He had been honoured in
Spain with a mural crown, and with an ob-
sidional one in Africa. In Spain, also, in
consequence of a challenge, and though pos-
sessing but a moderate share of strength, he
had slain an antagonist of immense size; and

BOOK he now pushed on with additional vigour the
I. war against the Carthaginians, which had
been conducted through the two preceding
years by the former consuls. That city, ren-
dered odious to the Roman nation rather by
jealousy of power than by any recent injuries,
he utterly destroyed, leaving it a monument
of his military prowess, as it had been before
of his grandfather's clemency. Carthage
was demolished, when it had stood six hun-
dred and sixty-seven years, one hundred and
seventy-seven years ago, in the consulate of
Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mum-
mius. Such was the end of Carthage, the
rival of the Roman empire, with which our
ancestors began a contest in arms when
Claudius and Fulvius were consuls, and three
hundred and ninety-six years before your
consulate, M. Vinicius, commenced. Thus,
during a space of a hundred and fifteen years,
there subsisted between those nations either
war, or preparations for war, or a precarious
peace. Nor did Rome hope for security to
herself, though the whole world were sub-
dued, while the name of Carthage undeu-
stroyed should remain. So apt is the hatred
contracted from contentions to last, after fear
is removed, and not to be laid aside, even
when

when the opponents are vanquished, nor does B O O K
the object cease to be detested, until it has ^{I.} ceased to exist.

XIII. Three years before the destruction of Carthage, in the consulate of Lucius Censorinus and Marcus Manlius, died Marcus Cato, who had continually urged its ruin. During the same year in which Carthage fell, Lucius Mummius entirely demolished Corinth, nine hundred and fifty-two years after the building of it by Aletes son of Hippotes. Each of the commanders was honoured with the name of the nation conquered by him, one being styled Africanus, and the other Achaicus. No new man before Mummius ever assumed a surname as the meed of military merit. The manners of these two captains were widely different, as well as their studies. Scipio was so judicious a promoter and admirer of science, and of every kind of learning, that he always, at home and abroad, kept near his person, two men of uncommon genius, Polybius and Panætius; for no man balanced the enjoyments of leisure against the fatigues of business with better taste and judgment, as he was constantly busied in the service of the arts of

BOOK war or peace. In a word, he never ceased
I. to exercise, either his person in dangers, or
his mind in learning. Mummius, on the contrary, was so uninformed, that, after the taking of Corinth, and when he was hiring people to carry to Italy the pictures and statues finished by the hands of the ablest artists, he ordered notice to be given to the contractors, that if they should lose them, they must find new ones. However, I believe you, Vinicius, are of opinion, that it would be more advantageous to the state, that men should remain still without Corinthian elegancies, than that knowledge in such matters were carried to the present length, and that the antient ignorance was more conducive to the public honour, than our modern skill.

XIV. Considering that ideas of any object when collected together, are more easily admitted through the eyes, and retained in the memory, than when presented at different times, I have resolved to digress in the latter part of this book from the train of the former. And to contract into a narrow compass an useful piece of information, by inserting a catalogue of the several colonies,

together with the times of their foundation, **BOOK**
which, since the taking of Rome by the ^I
Gauls, have been established by order of the
senate: for of the military settlements, the
occasions, founders, and names, are suf-
ficiently understood. I think, also, that it
will be convenient to interweave in this de-
tail, an account of the states that have been
adopted during that period, and of the ex-
tension of the Roman name by the communi-
cation of its privileges. Seven years after
the capture of the city by the Gauls, a colony
was settled at Sutrium; in the next year, at
Setina; and nine years after, at Nepete; and
then, at the distance of thirty-two years,
the Aricians were received into the state.
But the freedom of Rome without right of
suffrage was granted to the Campanians,
and a part of the Samnites, three hundred
and fifty years ago, in the consulate of Spurius
Posthumius and Veturius Calvinus, in which
year the colony of Cales was settled. Three
years after, the Fundans and Formians were
admitted citizens, in the very year wherein
Alexandria was built. In the next consulate,
the freedom of the city was granted to the
Acerrans by the censors Spurius Posthumius
and Publius Philo. Three years after, the

BOOK colony of Tarracina was established, and four
I. years following, Luceria. At the distance
of three years, Suessa Aurunca; and two
years after, Saticula and Interamna. Ten
years followed, during which no business of
this kind was done. Then were settled the
colonies Sora and Alba, and in two years,
Carseoli. In the fifth consulate of Fabius,
and the fourth of Decius Mus, the first year
of the reign of Pyrrhus, colonists were sent
to Sinuessa and Minturnæ; and four years
after, to Venusia. Then, at the end of two
years, in the consulate of Marcus Curius
and Cornelius Rufinus, the Sabines received
the rights of citizens without suffrage:
this happened about three hundred and
twenty years ago. Cosa and Pæstum were
settled about three hundred years ago, at
the time that Fabius Dorsa and Claudius
Canina were consuls. Five years afterwards,
in the consulate of Sempronius Sophus and
Appius, son of Appius the Blind, colonists
were sent to Ariminum and Beneven-
tum, and the privilege of voting was com-
municated to the Sabines. Then, at the
beginning of the first Punic war, Firmum
and Castrum were filled with colonists; the
next year, Æsernia; and twenty-two years
later,

later, *Æsulum* and *Algium*. At the end of ^{BOOK} two years, *Fregellæ*; and next year, which ^L was the consulate of *Torquatus* and *Sempronius*, *Brundusium*; and three years after, *Spoletum*. In the same year commenced the games of *Flora*. Two years later *Valentia* was colonized, and a little before Hannibal's arrival in Italy, *Cremona* and *Placentia*.

XV. As long as Hannibal remained in Italy, and during several years immediately succeeding his departure, the Romans had not leisure to found colonies; for while the war lasted, they were obliged to press soldiers, instead of discharging them, and after its conclusion, their strength required to be united and cherished, rather than dispersed. However, the colony of *Bononia* was established, in the consulate of *Cneius Manlius Volso*, and *Marcus Fulvius Nobilior*, about two hundred and seventeen years ago; and four years after that, *Pisaurum* and *Potentia*: at the end of three years, *Aquileia* and *Gravisca*; and four years later, *Luca*. In the same space of time, colonies were sent to *Puteoli*, *Salernum*, and *Buxentum*, though by some this is doubted. However, one was sent to *Auximum*, in the Picenian terri-

BOOK ^{I.} territory, about a hundred and eighty-seven years since, three years before Cassius the censor, (who was promoted to that office from being priest of Pan,) formed a design of erecting a theatre, in the execution of which he was obstructed by the great strictness of manners, and by the consul Scipio; which proceeding I am inclined to reckon among the brightest instances of the disposition of the nation. When Cassius Longinus was consul with Sextius Calvinus, who conquered the Salyans at the waters named from him Sextian, about a hundred and fifty-seven years ago, Fabrateria was made a colony; and in the next year Scylacium, Minervium, Tarentum, Neptunia, and Carthage in Africa, the last being, as before mentioned, the first colony settled beyond the bounds of Italy. Respecting Destona doubts are entertained; but Narbo Marcus, in Gaul, was erected into a colony in the consulate of Marcus Porcius and Quintus Marcus, a hundred and fifty-three years from the present; and Eporædia in Vagienæ, twenty-three years after, when Marius, a sixth time, and Valerius Flaccus were consuls. I cannot easily recollect any colonies, except the military, established since that period.

XVI. Al.

XVI. Although this little portion of my ~~BOOK~~^{I.} work has exceeded the limits intended, and notwithstanding I am sensible, that in a case of such precipitate haste, which, like a wheel, or a rapid eddy, and whirlpool, prevents my halting, I ought rather to omit matters that may seem necessary, than to introduce any which are superfluous, yet, I cannot refrain from touching on a matter, which I have often considered, but could never clearly account for. For is it not matter of much wonder, that the most eminent men in every profession are found within a narrow compass of time, and with nearly the like degrees of proficiency? just as animals of various kinds shut up in a fold, or inclosure, however they may differ one from another, yet, while kept distinct from others, unite in one body. In like manner, I say, geniuses capable of any grand performance, have formed separate assemblages, yet distinguished by a similarity both in point of time, and in their progress toward perfection. One age, and that not extending to the length of many years, gave lustre to tragedy by the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, men animated by a divine spirit. One age produced the ancient comedy, under Cratinus,

Aristo-

BOOK Aristophanes, and Eupolis. Menander, with
I. Philemon and Diphilus, his equals in age, though not in abilities, within very few years invented the new comedy, and left works hitherto inimitable. Then, as to the distinguished philosophers, deriving their knowledge from the lips of Socrates, in how short a space after the death of Plato and Aristotle did all those flourish, of whom we have lately spoken ! Who obtained any great credit in oratory before Isocrates ? and who was celebrated after his hearers, and their immediate disciples ? So crowded were they indeed into a narrow space of time, that almost all must have been known to each other.

XVII. Nor was this more the case among the Greeks than among the Romans ; for unless you refer to those rough and coarse pieces, which deserve no notice, but merely as new inventions, Roman tragedy subsists solely in the writings of Attius, and of his contemporaries, while the delightful sportiveness of Latin humour displayed itself in Cæcilius, Terentius, and Afranius, at times not distant from each other. With regard to historians, though you should annex Livy to the age of early writers, yet, excepting Cato, and some old and

and obscure annalists, they were produced BOOK
within the space of less than eighty years; L.
and the time within which the poets ap-
peared was nearly the same. Then, with the
exception of Cato, (and speaking with due
respect to Publius Crassus, Scipio, Lælius,
the Gracchi, Fannius, and Sergius Galba,)
oratory, and the perfect beauty of prose
eloquence, burst out complete, in Tullius,
the foremost in that line, insomuch that
of those who preceded him, very few can
convey pleasure, and not one can excite
admiration. Whoever searches the records
of history, will find, that the same circum-
stances attended the grammarians, statua-
ries, painters, sculptors, and that instances of
excellence in every kind of work are con-
fined within very narrow limits of time.
I often search for the causes why the
present and the foregoing age, should have
led similar geniuses to equal exertions, and
equal progress, but discover none that I can
depend on as satisfactory, though I have
certainly observed several which seem to have
weight, particularly the following. Emula-
tion nourishes genius, and sometimes envy:
sometimes admiration kindles a spirit of imi-
tation. A pursuit pushed forward with the
greatest

BOOK greatest zeal, will naturally proceed to the greatest height: to stand still on the summit of perfection is difficult; and in the natural course of things, what cannot advance, recedes. As we set out at first with ardour, to overtake those whom we observe before us, so when we once despair of passing them, or keeping pace with them, zeal flags together with hope, ceases to pursue what it cannot attain, and, relinquishing the object as already pre-occupied, seeks some other. We decline any employment in which we cannot arrive at eminence, and endeavour to find one that will allow scope to our exertions: consequently, if such changes are frequent, and made on slight grounds, they prove the most powerful obstruction to a complete execution of any work. If from the circumstances of the times, we turn to those of the cities, we find equal grounds of wonder. For one city in Attica produced greater masters in eloquence, and in greater numbers, and during a greater length of years, than all the rest of Greece, so that while the persons of that nation were spread through its various states, its genius seemed to be pent up entirely within the walls of Athens. Nor does this surprize me more, than that not one orator of Argos,

Argos, Thebes, or Lacedæmon, was thought B O O K
deserving of notice during his life, or of I.
mention after his death: in such studies,
these, and many other cities, were quite un-
productive, excepting that the single voice
of Pindar conferred some degree of lustre
on Thebes; for the claim of the Lacedæmo-
nians to Lydus is ill founded.

ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK II.

I. THE former Scipio had opened for the ^{BOOK} _{II.} Romans the way to power, the latter ^{II.} opened that to luxury. For when their fear of Carthage ceased, and their rival in empire was removed, the people, deserting the cause of virtue, went over to that of vice not by slow steps, but with precipitate speed; the old rules of conduct were renounced, new introduced, the body of the nation turned the course of their practice from watchings to sleep, from arms to pleasures, from business to idleness. Then Scipio Nasica built porticos in the Capitol, Metellus those before mentioned. Cneius Octavius erected those most delightful structures in the circus; and public magnificence was closely attended by private luxury. Soon followed a lamentable

D

and

B O O K and disgraceful war in Spain, conducted by
II. **Viriathus** at the head of a band of robbers, in the course of which fortune often changed sides, but was generally unfavourable to the Romans. When Viriathus was slain, through the treachery of Servilius Cæpio, the war of Numantia blazed forth with still greater fury. This city never armed more than ten thousand of its native youths, yet, whether it was owing to the stubbornness of their courage, or to the want of skill in our commanders, or to the kind disposition of fortune, it compelled not only others, but even Pompey, a man of great reputation, the first of the name who was consul, to agree to a peace on most dishonourable terms, and the consul Mancinus Hostilius to do the same. However, Pompey escaped punishment through the power of interest, and Mancinus through his own disinterested modesty, for he himself recommended and procured an order, that he should be surrendered by the heralds to the enemy, naked, and with his hands tied behind his back. But they, as the Caudians had done formerly, refused to receive him, insisting that the blood of an individual was not an adequate expiation for a public violation of faith.

II. This

II. This surrender of Mancinus excited BOOK
II. violent dissensions in the state. For Tiberius Gracchus, son of a very illustrious and eminent citizen, and grandson on his mother's side of Publius Africanus, had been quæstor, and having recommended the concluding of that treaty, was grievously offended at the repealing of it. Gracchus likewise entertained apprehensions for himself of a similar sentence or punishment; wherefore, though in other instances of the strictest integrity, endowed with the brightest abilities, and pure and upright in his intentions, in short, adorned with every virtue of which the state of man when perfected both by nature and industry is susceptible,—he, on being appointed plebeian tribune in the consulate of Publius Mutius Scævola and Lucius Calpurnius, a hundred and sixty-two years ago, deserted the worthy party, and by promising the rights of citizens to all the inhabitants of Italy, and at the same time proposing agrarian laws, tending to unsettle every man's property, threw all things into the utmost confusion, and brought the state into violent and almost unavoidable danger. Octavius, one of his colleagues, who stood up in favour of the public good, he compelled to resign, and procured the election of himself, his

BOOK father-in-law Appius, who had been consul,
II. and his brother Gracchus then very young,
as commissioners to distribute lands, and
settle colonies.

III. On this, Publius Scipio Nasica, grandson of him who had been pronounced by the senate the best man in the state, son of him who in the censorship built the porticoes in the capitol, and great grandson of Cneius Scipio, a man of very illustrious character, who was uncle of Publius Africanus; — this Scipio, I say, although not invested with any military office, and notwithstanding his being cousin to Tiberius Gracchus, preferring his country to family connection, and considering whatever hurt the public as injurious to each individual, (for which virtuous sentiments he was afterwards, in his absence, created chief pontiff; the first instance of the kind,) wrapped the lappet of his gown round his left arm, and mounted to the upper part of the Capitol; where, standing on the highest steps, he called aloud on all that regarded the safety of the commonwealth to follow him. Immediately the chief of the nobility, the senate, the larger and better part of the equestrian body, and such plebeians as were uninfected by the pernicious designs

designs of the Gracchi, rushed together **BOOK**
 against Gracchus, who with some bands of IL
 his partizans was standing in the court, sum-
 moning together crowds from almost every
 part of Italy. He betook himself to flight;
 but as he was running down the slope of the
 Capitol, he was struck with a piece of a
 broken bench, and thus by a premature death
 closed a life that he might have enjoyed in
 the highest degree of glory. In this manner
 commenced in Rome the practice of its
 citizens shedding each other's blood, and of
 allowing impunity to assassins. Thence-for-
 ward right was crushed under strength, the
 more powerful was the higher esteemed; dis-
 putes, which formerly used to be amicably
 settled, were now decided by the sword; and
 wars were undertaken, not on account of pro-
 vocations received, but on prospects of gain.
 Nor should this excite our astonishment; for
 examples do not stop at the spot where they
 had their beginning, but if admitted through
 a passage ever so narrow, make way for them-
 selves to spread to any extent; and when
 people once deviate from the straight path,
 they are hurried down a precipice, nor does
 any one think that scandalous in himself,
 which has proved profitable to another.

BOOK **II.** IV. During the time of those transactions in Italy, King Attalus died, leaving Asia as an inheritance to the Roman people ; as Bithynia was afterwards left by Nicomedes ; when Aristonicus, pretending relationship to the royal family, seized it by force of arms. He was conquered and led in triumph by Marcus Perpenna, but capitally punished by Aquilius, for having at the beginning of the war murdered Crassus Mucianus the proconsul, remarkable for his knowledge of the laws, as he was leaving Asia. After so many disasters suffered at Numantia, Publius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus, who had destroyed Carthage, was elected a second time consul, and sent into Spain ; where he supported the character of conduct and success which he had acquired in Africa ; and within a year and three months after his arrival there, having closely invested Numantia, he took it, and levelled it to the ground. Never did any man of any nation before his time acquire a greater share of fame by demolition of cities ; for by the destruction of Carthage and Numantia he delivered us from dread of the one, and from the disgraces brought on by the other. Being asked by Carbo a tribune, what he thought of the death of Tiberius Gracchus,

Gracchus, he answered, if he had a design of ^{BOOK} _{II.} seizing the government, he was justly put to death; and when the whole assembly raised a shout, he said, After so often hearing undaunted the shouts of armed foes, how can I be affected by the noise of such as you, who are no more than step-sons of Italy? Shortly after his return to the city, in the consulate of Marcus Aquillius and Caius Sempronius, a hundred and fifty years from the present time, after his two consulships, two triumphs, and after two objects of terror to the state were destroyed; he was found dead in his bed, with marks of strangulation on his neck. Yet the death of so great a man was followed by no inquiry, and he, whose services had enabled Rome to exalt her head above the whole world, was carried in his funeral with his head muffled. Whether he died a natural death, as the greater number suppose, or was treacherously murdered, as some have reported, his life was certainly most highly dignified, and at least as illustrious as any before his time, excepting that of his grandfather. At the time of his decease he was about fifty-four years old. If any person questions this, let him look back to his first consulship, into which he was elected at

BOOK the age of thirty-six, and let his doubts
II. cease.

V. Before the destruction of Numantia, Decimus Brutus distinguished himself in an extraordinary degree by his exploits in Spain; so that having made his way through all the nations of that country, subdued vast multitudes of men, and great numbers of cities, and visited places of which the names had scarcely been heard, he merited the surname of Gallæcus. A few years before him, Q. Macedonicus enforced obedience in that country with much strictness, and while besieging the city of Contribia, five legionary cohorts being repulsed in an attack on a very steep place, he ordered them to mount it again immediately. Though they all made their wills in preparation for action, as if going to certain destruction, he was not deterred from his purpose, and the commander in consequence saw his men return with victory, whom he had sent out with an expectation of death. So great was the effect of shame blended with fear, and of hope struck out by despair. He gained much credit for courage and order; but Fabius Æmilianus shewed in Spain the most conspicuous example of discipline.

VI. At

VI. At the distance of ten years, the same BOOK
rage which had animated Tiberius Gracchus, II.
seized his brother Caius, who, resembling him
as much in all his virtues as in this error of
judgment, was in abilities and eloquence far
his superior. He might have let his mind
enjoy perfect rest, and at the same time have
become the very first man in the state; but
led by a desire, either of revenging his bro-
ther's death, or of laying the foundation for
regal power, he no sooner entered on the
tribuneship, than he proceeded in the steps
of his brother, forming projects, however,
much more extensive and more forcible. He
designed to give the rights of citizens to all
the Italians, as far almost as the Alps; to
distribute lands, and to prohibit every citizen
from possessing more than five hundred acres;
which restriction was once enjoined by the
Licinian law. He likewise wished to esta-
blish new rates of port-duties, to fill the pro-
vinces with new colonies, to transfer the
privilege of being judges from the senators
to the knights, and to distribute corn to the
populace; in short, of all the particulars
which were tranquil and quiet, not to leave
one in the same state. He even procured
himself to be re-elected tribune. But the
consul

BOOK consul Lucius Opimius, who in his prætor-
H. ship had demolished Fregellæ, took arms
against him, and put him to death, and toge-
ther with him Fulvius Flaccus, who had been
consul, and had triumphed, but was equally
inclined to mischief. Caius Gracchus had
nominated him a commissioner in the room
of his brother Tiberius, and had associated
him with himself as a partner in regal power.
One particular in Opimius's conduct is men-
tioned, that deserves reprobation,—namely,
his offering a reward for the head, not only
of Gracchus, but of any turbulent Roman
citizen, and promising its weight in gold.
Flaccus, while he was collecting a party in
arms on the Aventine, with intent to make
resistance, was slain, together with his elder
son; Gracchus attempting to escape, and
being nearly overtaken by a party sent by
Opimius, held out his neck to Euporus his
slave, who slew himself with the same fort-
itude with which he relieved his master. Pom-
ponius, a Roman knight, shewed on that day
a singular degree of attachment to Gracchus;
for, like Cocles, he withstood his enemies on
the bridge, and then transfixed himself with
his sword. The victorious party threw the
body

body of Caius Gracchus into the Tyber, as ^{BOOK}
they had before done with that of Tiberius. ^{II.}

VII. Such was the latter part of the lives, such were the deaths of the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, the grandsons of Publius Scipio Africanus, happening while their mother Cornelia, daughter of Africanus, was still alive to witness them; the consequences of the bad use that they made of the best talents. For if these men had fixed their desires on any measure of dignity compatible with civil liberty,—all that they sought to obtain by their turbulent proceedings,—the public would have complied without any trouble on their part. To the instances before-mentioned was added an act of unparalleled barbarity. A youth of uncommon beauty, in the eighteenth year of his age, guiltless of his father's offences, the son of Fulvius Flaccus, being sent to negotiate terms of accommodation, was put to death by Opimius. A Tuscan soothsayer, his friend, seeing the lad weep as he was dragged to prison, said to him, Why don't you rather act thus? And immediately dashing his head against a stone pillar at the prison door, beat out his brains, and expired. Inquiries were quickly set on foot,

BOOK foot, and conducted with great cruelty to-
wards the friends and clients of Gracchus.
In consequence of which, when Opimius, who in other respects was upright and respectable, was afterwards condemned on a trial before the people, his countrymen, recollecting his severity, shewed him no mark of commiseration. The same general abhorrence afterwards deservedly crushed, under sentences of the people, Rutilius and Popilius, who, being consuls at the time, had proceeded harshly against the friends of Tiberius Gracchus. Amongst affairs of such importance I shall mention one, the knowledge of which however is of little consequence. This is the Opimius, from whom the famous wine got its name. That there is none of it at present may be inferred from the distance of the times, for between his consulate and yours, Marcus Vinicius, a hundred and fifty years have elapsed. The act of Opimius met the less approbation, because his object was revenge of personal enmity, and the vengeance seemed to have been inflicted in gratification of private hatred, not of public justice.

VIII. Soon after, in the consulate of
Marcius and Porcius, the colony of Narbo
Marcius

Marcius was settled. Let us here record the **BOOK**
II. strictness of judicial proceedings in those times. Caius Cato, of consular dignity, grandson of Marcus Cato, sister's son of Africanus, was convicted of extortion committed in Macedonia, and his fine fixed at eighteen thousand sesterces *: for people their considered the inclination; they measured facts by the intention, and estimated the nature more than the extent of the crimes committed. About the same time, the two Metelli triumphed on one day. Another instance of distinction not less honourable and hitherto unparalleled, was, two sons of Fulvius Flaccus who had taken Capua, being joined together in the consulship. One of them indeed had been given in adoption, having been received into the family of Manlius Acidinus. As to the two Metelli being censors together, they were cousins-german, not brothers: the circumstance of two full brothers being united in office fell to the lot of none but the Scipios. At this time the Cimbrians and Teutonians came across the Rhine, and soon made themselves conspicuous by the calamities that they brought on us and on them.

* £145. 6s. 3d.

selves.

BOOK II. selves. At the same time, Minucius, who erected the porticoes, which at this day are reckoned so fine, triumphed with great honour over the Scordiscians.

IX. During this period flourished those shining orators Scipio *Æ*milianus, Lælius Sergius Galba, the two Gracchi, Caius Fan-nius, and Papirius Carbo. Nor must we omit Metellus Numidicus, or Scaurus; or, above all, Lucius Crassus, or Marcus Antonius. To these succeeded Caius Cæsar, Strabo, and Publius Sulpicius; for as to Mucius, he was in higher estimation for his knowledge of the law than for eloquence. During the same space of time appeared the bright genius of Afranius, excelling in comedy as did Pacuvius and Attius in tragedy. The latter advanced so far, as to come into competition with the ingenious Greeks, and to obtain, even among them, an high place for his works; so that they show not only more correctness, but seem to possess a greater share of vigour. A great character was likewise acquired by Lucilius, who in the Numantine war had served in the cavalry under Publius Africanus. At the same time Jugurtha, then a youth, and Marius, learned in

the same camp under Africanus, that skill B. O. O. K. II.
which they were afterwards to practise —
against each other. Sisenna the historian
was then young, but some years after, at a
more advanced age, published his history of
the civil wars of Sulla. Cælius was prior to
Sisenna: coeval with him were Rutilius,
Claudius Quadrigarius, and Valerius Antias.
We ought not indeed to neglect mentioning
Pomponius, who lived in that age; he de-
served credit for his keen humour, but his
language was unpolished, and his chief re-
commendation was the novelty of the per-
formance invented by him.

X. Let us observe here the well-known se-
verity of the censors Cassius Longinus and
Cæpio, who, a hundred and fifty years ago,
summoned before them an augur, Æmilius
Lepidus, because he rented a house at six
thousand *asses*. If any person lived at so low
a rent at present, he would scarcely be consi-
dered a senator: so speedily do people pro-
ceed from rectitude to vice, from vice to de-
pravity, from depravity to profligacy. Dur-
ing this period, Domitius gained an honour-
able victory over the Arvernians, and Fabius
another over the Allobrogians, from which
victory,

BOOK ^{II.} victory, Fabius, who was grandson of Paullus, acquired the surname of Allobrogicus. Here we may observe a peculiar kind of happiness attending the Domitian family, which was highly honourable, and at the same time confined to a small number. Before the present Cneius Domitius, a youth of most remarkable candour, there have been four, who were the only sons of their respective parents, but they all arrived at the consulship and priesthood; and almost all at the honours of triumph.

XI. The Jugurthine war was then conducted by Quintus Metellus, a commander inferior to no one of the age. Under him acted, as lieutenant-general, Caius Marius, whom we mentioned above, a man of mean birth, coarse and rough in his manners, and in his morals corrupt, who, while he excelled all others in the arts of war, was the worst qualified for those of peace. He was immoderately greedy of glory, his ambition was insatiable, his passions ungovernable, so that he was never at rest. He employed farmers of the revenue, and others who traded in Africa, to spread insinuations against Metellus, as if he was too tedious in his operations, and pur-

posely protracted the war to the present, B O O K
which was the third year, with invectives ^{II.} against the natural pride of the nobles, and their ambition to continue in posts of power. These had such an effect, that having got leave of absence, and come to Rome, he was elected consul ; and the management of the war, now brought near to a conclusion by Metellus, who had twice routed Jugurtha in the field, was entrusted to him. Nevertheless the triumph of Metellus was exceedingly grand, according to his deserts, and his merits procured him the title of Numidicus. As we lately took notice of the splendid lot of the Domitian family, so we may here remark on that of the Cæcilian, for within about twelve years of this time there were above ten Metelli either consuls or censors, or who enjoyed triumphs ; which demonstrates that as the happiness of cities and empires, so likewise that of families, now flourishes, then fades, then expires.

XII. Caius Marius, at this early time, had Lucius Sulla connected with him in quality of his quæstor, as if through precaution of the fates, and having sent him ambassador to King Bocchus, received, through his means,

E

King

BOOK II. King Jugurtha in chains, a hundred and thirty-four years ago. Being elected consul a second time, he came home to Rome; and on the calends of January, when his second consulship commenced, led Jugurtha in triumph. The overwhelming force of the German tribes, called Cimbrians and Teutonians, mentioned above, had vanquished and put to flight in Gaul, the consuls Cæpion and Manlius, as well as Carbo and Silanus, had dispersed their armies, and had killed Aurelius Scaurus the consul, and others of great reputation. On this, the Roman people declared their opinion, that no commander was better qualified than Marius to repel such formidable enemies. Thence-forward consulships multiplied on him. His third was spent in preparations for the war, and in the same year Cneius Domitius, a plebeian tribune, got a law passed, that the people should elect priests, whereas they formerly used to be appointed by their college. In his fourth he fought the Teutonians, at the Sextian waters, beyond the Alps, and in two successive days slew a hundred and fifty thousand of them, and utterly ruined their nation. In his fifth, he and Quintus Lutatius Catulus proconsul, met the Cimbrians in a plain,

plain, on this side of the Alps, called RAN- B O O K
dian, and put an end to the war by a most II.
successful battle, killing or taking above an
hundred thousand men. By this success
Marius seems to have merited so far, that his
country should not regret his birth; and, in
some degree, to have compensated with good
the evils that he brought upon it. The sixth
was conferred on him in reward of his deserts.
Yet let not this consulship be defrauded of its
share of praise, for when Servilius, Glaucia,
and Saturninus Apuleius, retaining posses-
sion of the offices of the state, inflicted deep
wounds on the constitution, and even dis-
persed the assemblies of the people by force,
and not without bloodshed; the consul, with
an armed force, repressed their wild attempts,
and, in the Hostilian senate-house, putished
with death those pestilent innovators.

XIII. At the end of a few succeeding
years, Marcus Livius Drusus entered on the
office of tribune: he was a man of the noblest
birth, the greatest eloquence, and the strictest
purity of heart; whose disposition and capa-
city in all his undertakings were superior to
his success. For he formed a design of re-
storing to the senate its ancient dignity, and of

BOOK ^{II.} transferring from the knights to that body the right of being judges ; because when, by the Gracchan laws, the knights were invested with that authority, they had treated with cruel severity many of the most illustrious and most innocent citizens ; and in particular had brought to trial for extortion Publius Rutilius, the best man not only of his own but of any age, and to the exceeding great grief of the public, had condemned him to punishment. But in those very efforts which he made in favour of the senate, his principal opponent was the senate itself. For they did not perceive that all his proceedings in favour of the plebeians were employed as baits to allure the multitude, in order that, being gratified in smaller matters, they might consent to others of greater importance. In fine, such was the fate of Drusus, that the senate favoured the injurious proceedings of his colleagues more than his excellent designs, rejecting with scorn the honour offered by him, while they submitted patiently to the ill treatment shewn them by the others ; looking, in short, with envy, on his very exalted reputation, and without disgust on the mean characters of his opponents.

XIV. At length Drusus, finding his well-intended plans badly received, changed his mind, and resolved to give the rights of citizens to Italy. While he was taking measures for this purpose, on coming home one day from the forum, surrounded by the immense irregular crowd that always accompanied him, he was stabbed in the court-yard of his own house with a knife, which was left sticking in his side, and within a few hours expired. When he was drawing almost his last breath, he uttered an expression very consonant to his inward feelings. Looking on the crowd of people that stood round and lamented him, he said, " My friends and neighbours, when will the commonwealth ever have a citizen like me?" Thus ended the life of this illustrious youth. One incident which marks the goodness of his disposition ought not to be omitted. When he was building a house on the Palatine, on the spot where now stands that which formerly belonged to Cicero, afterwards to Censorinus, and is at this time the property of Statilius Sisenna, the architect told him that he would construct it in such a manner, that passengers could not see into it, so that it would be wholly free from the inspection of curiosity,

BOOK ^{II.} nor could any look down into it from higher ground. "No," answered he, "if your skill be so great, construct my house in such a manner, that all men may see what I am doing."

XV. Among the most pernicious plans adopted in the laws of Graccus, I reckon his planting colonies out of Italy. Such a measure our ancestors had carefully avoided, because they saw Carthage so much more powerful than its mother city Tyre, Marseilles than Phocæa; Syracuse than Corinth; Cyzicium and Byzantium than Miletus; they even called home Roman citizens from the provinces to attend the survey in Italy. The death of Drusus hastened the breaking out of the Italian war, which had been growing to a head during a considerable time before; for in the consulate of Lucius Cæsar and Publius Rutilius, an hundred and nineteen years from the present, all Italy took arms against the Romans. Though this unfortunate business took its beginning from the Asculans, (who killed Servius a *prætor*, and Fonteius a *lieutenant-general*,) yet, from them it soon reached the Marsians, and spread itself through every quarter of the country.

As the subsequent sufferings of those people **BOOK**
were severe, so was their cause strictly just : **II.**
for they claimed the privileges of a country,
whose empire they supported by their arms ;
at all times, and in every war, they furnished
a double number of men, both horse and
foot, yet they were not admitted to the pri-
vileges of the state, which had been raised
by them to that very eminence from which it
could look down with disdain on men of the
same nation and blood, as aliens, and fo-
reigners. This war consumed above three
hundred thousand of the youth of Italy.
The Roman commanders most distinguished
in it were, Cneius Pompey, father of Cneius
Pompey the Great ; Caius Marius before-
mentioned, Lucius Sulla, who was prætor in
the preceding year, and Quintus Metellus
son of Numidicus, who deservedly obtained
the surname of Pius : — for his father having
been banished by Lucius Saturninus, plebeian
tribune, because he alone refused to swear
obedience to his laws, the son by his dutiful
exertions procured his recal, sanctioned by
the judgment of the senate, and the appro-
bation of the Roman people. So that neither
his triumphs, nor his honours, conferred
greater glory on Numidicus, than did the

BOOK cause of his exile, the exile itself, and his
II. return from it.

XVI. The most remarkable leaders of the Italians were Silo Poppædus, Herius Asinius, Titus Vettius Cato, Caius Pontius Telesinus, Marius Egnatius and Papius Mutilus. Nor shall a mistaken modesty induce me to withhold any part of the praise due to my own family, while I do not exceed the truth, for much honour ought to be paid to the memory of Minatius Magius of Asculum, my ancestor in the sixth degree. He was grandson of Decius Magius, a man of high distinction among the Campanians, and of remarkable fidelity, and he displayed in this war such a faithful attachment to the Romans, that, with a legion which he himself had raised among the Hirpinians, he with Titus Didius took Herculaneum, and in conjunction with Lucius Sulla besieged Pompeii, and gained possession of Cosa. His virtues have been celebrated by several writers, and very copiously and clearly by Hortensius in his annals. The Roman people amply compensated his loyalty, by unanimously voting him a citizen, and electing his two sons *prætors*, at a time when only six were elected.

So variable and violent was the fortune of the BOOK
Italian war, that in the course of two suc- II.
cessive years, two Roman consuls, Rutilius
and after him Porcius Cato, were slain by
the enemy, and the armies of the Roman
people discomfited in many places, so that
a general mourning took place and was long
continued. The enemy chose as capital of
their empire the city of Corfinium, which
they named Italicum. The strength of the
Romans was afterwards recruited, though
slowly, by admitting into the state such as
either had not taken arms, or had laid them
down early, while the commonwealth debi-
litated and ready to sink, was restored to
vigour by the exertions of Pompey, Sulla, and
Marius.

XVII. In consequence of the Italian war,
the Romans chose, after being exhausted
themselves, to communicate their privileges
to certain states, that were vanquished and
nearly crushed ; rather than to the whole
when their strength was unimpaired. It was
now near a close, some remains of it only
subsisting at Nola, when the consulship was
filled by Quintus Pompey, and Lucius Cor-
nelius Sulla, the latter a man, who before
he

BOOK II. he had subdued his competitors could not be sufficiently commended, nor after that too severely censured. He was born of a noble family, being the sixth in descent from Cornelius Rufinus, one of the most celebrated commanders in the war of Pyrrhus, but in consequence of the family having for some time lost its splendour, he conducted himself through a great part of his life in such a manner, that he did not seem to harbour a thought of the consulship. However, after his praetorship, having acquired a good share of reputation in the Italian war, as he had before gained when lieutenant-general under Marius in Gaul, where he defeated some of the enemy's most eminent commanders; he assumed courage from success, and standing candidate for the consulship, carried it by the almost unanimous suffrage of his countrymen. When he attained this honour, he was in the forty-ninth year of his age.

XVIII. Nearly at this time Mithridates King of Pontus,—a personage who should neither be passed by without notice, nor be slightly mentioned; most vigorous in war, excelling in courage, pre-eminent above all others, sometimes in success, always in spirit; in

in council a general, in action a soldier, and **BOOK**
in hatred to the Romans another Hannibal; **II.**
— seized upon Asia after putting to death all
the Roman citizens found there: for he sent
letters to each of the states, filled with pro-
mises of great rewards, and ordering them all
to be slain on the same day and hour. None
at this time equalled the Rhodians, either in
brave exertions against Mithridates, or in
firm attachment to the Romans, and a lustre
was thrown on their fidelity by the perfidy of
the Mitylenæans, who gave up in chains to
Mithridates, Marcus Aquilius and several
others. Yet these people were afterwards
restored to freedom by Pompey, to gratify
one Theophanes. Mithridates becoming
formidable seemed to threaten Italy, when
the province of Asia fell to the lot of
Sulla. After leaving Rome, he staid some
time at Nola, for that city, as if repenting of
the uncommon fidelity, which it had main-
tained during the Punic war, continued in
arms with inveterate obstinacy, and was then
besieged by a Roman army. In the mean
time, Publius Sulpicius a plebeian tribune
possessing in a very extensive degree elo-
quence, activity, wealth, interest, and the
attachment of friends, together with genius
and

BOOK and spirit, though he had formerly with the
II. most upright intentions obtained from the
people the highest dignity in the state, yet as
if disgusted at his own virtues, and as if his
good designs had met a bad issue, became all
at once depraved and violent, and enlisted
himself in the party of Caius Marius, who
after the end of his seventieth year, still
coveted every command, and every province.
He proposed a law to the people, which an-
nulled Sulla's commission, and decreed the
conduct of the war with Mithridates to Caius
Marius; likewise several other laws of per-
nicious and fatal tendency, such as could not
be endured in a free state. He even by
means of some emissaries of his faction, put
to death a son of the consul Quintus Pompey,
who was also son-in-law of Sulla.

XIX. On this, Sulla collected a body of
troops, and returned to the city, took posses-
sion of it by force of arms, expelled twelve
promotors of these pernicious measures,
among whom were Marius, his son, and Pub-
lius Sulpicius, at the same time procuring a
law to be passed declaring them exiles. Some
horsemen overtaking Sulpicius in the Lau-
rentian marshes, slew him, and his head being
raised

raised on high, and shewn from the rostrum, BOOK
served as an omen of the approaching pro- II.
scription. Marius, after his sixth consulship
and his seventieth year, was found naked,
and covered with mud, having only his eyes
and nose above the surface, among the reeds
at the edge of the lake of Marica, where he
had hidden himself, to avoid the pursuit of
Sulla's horsemen. He was taken out, and,
with a cord about his neck, dragged to the
prison of Minturnæ, by order of the two
colonial commissioners. A public servant, by
nation a German, who happened to have
been taken prisoner by that general in the
Cimbrian war, was sent with a sword to kill
him; but no sooner did he discover Marius,
than, uttering a loud exclamation of horror
at the indignity of the situation into which
so great a man had fallen, he threw away the
weapon and ran out of the prison. His
countrymen, thus taught by his enemy to
commiserate the man who was lately the first
in the nation, supplied him with clothes and
provision for a voyage, and put him on board
a ship. Near the island Ænaria he overtook
his son, and then steered his course to Africa,
where, in a hut among the ruins of Carthage
he lived in a state of indigence. In this situ-
ation,

BOOK ation, Marius viewing Carthage, and her sons
II. beholding him, might afford each other some
consolation.

XX. In this year occurred the first instance of soldiers imbruining their hands in the blood of a Roman consul. For Pompey, Sulla's colleague, was slain by the troops of Cneius Pompey, in a mutiny excited by their leader. Cinna shewed not more moderation than Marius and Sulpicius; for although the rights of Rome had been granted to Italy, under the condition that the new members should be enrolled in eight tribes, (lest their power and numbers might detract from the dignity of the original citizens, and the receivers of a kindness be more powerful than their benefactors,) he now promised that he would distribute them through all the tribes; and on this account, had called together in the city, an immense multitude from all parts of the country. But he was driven out of Rome by the power of his colleague and of the nobles; and while he was on his way to Campania, the consulship was taken from him by a vote of the senate, and Lucius Cornelius Metula, flamen of Jove, was substituted in his place; which illegal proceeding, however suited

suited to the demerits of the man, cannot be ^{BOOK} approved as a precedent. ^{II.} Cinna, after first bribing the tribunes and centurions, and then gaining over the soldiers by promises of largesses, was received as leader by the army at Nola, and when the whole had sworn obedience to him, he, retaining the ensigns of consul, turned their arms against his country. But his chief dependance was on the vast number of the new citizens, of whom he had enlisted above three hundred cohorts, and filled up the compliment of thirty legions. His party stood in need of men of character and influence ; and in order to gain more of these, he recalled from exile Caius Marius, his son, and the others who had been banished with him.

XXI. Cneius Pompey, father of Pompey the Great, had performed memorable services to the state in the Marsian war, especially in the Picenian country, as we mentioned before, and had taken Asculum, near which city, while the troops were dispersed in various parts, seventy-five Roman citizens, in the course of one day, maintained a conflict against more than sixty thousand Italians. But while Cinna now waged war on his country, this

BOOK this man being disappointed in his hope of
II. re-election to the consulship, became equivocal and undetermined in his conduct. In all his proceedings, he was actuated by his own private emolument, and lay in wait for opportunities of turning himself and his army to this side and that, as either shewed a greater prospect of power. At last, however, he fought a long and furious battle with Cinna ; and as this engagement was carried on, and concluded, under the very walls, and in the view of the city of Rome, words can hardly express the agonies of anxiety, with which the issue was expected, both by the combatants and the spectators. Soon after, while both armies as if not sufficiently exhausted by the sword, were grievously afflicted by a pestilence, Cneius Pompey died : but the joy occasioned by his death, was in a great measure counterbalanced by the loss of so many citizens, cut off by the sword, or sickness. The Roman people vented on his corpse, the resentment which they owed to him when alive. Whether there were two or three families of the Pompey's, Quintus Pompey was the first consul of that name, with Cneius Servilius, about an hundred and sixty-eight years ago. Marius and Cinna, after many bloody conflicts,

flicts, made themselves masters of the city : BOOK
Cinna entered it first, and procured an order II.
for the admission of Marius.

XXII. Then Caius Marius made his entry into the city, — an entry fatal to his countrymen. There would be no instance of an event more cruel in its consequences, than the success of these men, had not that of Sulla quickly followed. Nor was their licentious cruelty confined to the middling ranks ; men of the most exalted stations, and most eminent characters, were destroyed under various kinds of sufferings ; and among these the consul Octavius, a man of the mildest disposition, was slain by order of Cinna. Merula, who on the approach of Cinna had resigned the consulship, opened his veins, and sprinkling the blood on the altars, imprecated curses on Cinna and his party, from the same gods, whom he, as flamen of Jove, had often addressed in favour of the republic, and then resigned a life, which had greatly served the state. Marc Anthony, the first of statesmen, and of orators, was, by order of Marius and Cinna, stabbed by the soldiers ; though even these were so much affected by his eloquence, that they hesitated

BOOK for some time to give the blow. Quintus

II.

Catulus, justly celebrated for his many virtues, besides the fame acquired in the Cim-brian war, wherein he and Marius were joint sharers, when search was made for him by executioners, shut himself up in a place lately plastered with mortar, had fire brought in to raise a strong smell, and then, by inhal-ing the noxious vapour, and shutting in his breath, he found a death agreeable to the wishes, though not to the directions of his enemies. All things were falling rapidly into ruin, but no person was yet found, who dared to make donations of the property of a Ro-man citizen, or who presumed to ask for such. Afterwards this additional evil was intro-duced, guilt was measured by the amount of wealth; whoever was rich, was criminal; each man became as an hire for procuring his own danger; and nothing that produced gain to the proscribers, was deemed scan-dalous.

XXIII. Cinna now entered on his second consulship, and Marius on his seventh, to the utter disgrace of the former six. Soon after its commencement he fell sick and died, leav-ing the character of a temper perfectly impla-cable,

cable, in war toward his enemies, in peace BOOK
 toward his countrymen, and of a disposition II.
 that could never endure quiet. In his room
 was substituted Valerius Flaccus, the author
 of a most dishonourable law, which compelled
 creditors to compound for a fourth part of
 the debts; for which iniquitous proceeding
 he met deserved punishment within two years
 after. While Cinna tyrannised in Italy, the
 greater part of the nobility fled into Achaia
 to Sulla, and thence afterwards into Asia.
 Meanwhile Sulla was so successful in his ope-
 rations against the generals of Mithridates,
 near Athens, in Boeotia, and Macedonia, that
 he recovered Athens; and, after expending a
 vast deal of labour in reducing the numerous
 fortifications of the Piræan harbour, he slew
 above two hundred thousand of the enemy,
 and took at least as many prisoners. If any
 person imputes the guilt of rebellion to the
 Athenians, at this time when their city was
 besieged by Sulla, he is certainly ignorant of
 the truth, and of history. For so invariable
 was the fidelity of the Athenians to the Ro-
 mans, that always, and in every case, what-
 ever was performed with perfect good faith,
 the Romans used to say, was done with
 " Attic faith." But that people, overpowered

BOOK by Mithridates, were in a most miserable condition, held in subjection by their enemies, besieged by their friends, and while their inclinations were outside the walls, compelled by necessity to keep their persons within. Sulla, then passing over to Asia, found Mithridates submissive and compliant in every particular. He made him pay a fine in money, and deliver up half of his ships; forced him to retire out of Asia, and all the other provinces, which he seized by force, recovered the prisoners, punished the deserters and the guilty, and ordered the King to confine himself within his father's territory, that is, Pontus.

XXIV. Caius Flavius Fimbria, who before Sulla's arrival was general of horse, had put to death Valerius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, had assumed the command of the army, had been saluted by the title of Imperator, and had been fortunate enough to get the better of Mithridates in battle; but on the approach of Sulla, he slew himself. He was a young man most wicked in his plans, and daring in their execution. In the same year Publius Lænas, a plebeian tribune, threw from the Tarpeian rock Sextus Lucilius, who had

held that office the year before, and summoned his colleagues to a trial: but they through fear fled to Sulla, on which he procured an order of banishment against them. Sulla, having now adjusted all affairs beyond sea, and having the first of all the Romans received ambassadors from the Parthians, some of whom, being magicians, foretold from tokens observed on his body, that his fame would be immortal, sailed home to Italy, landing at Brundusium not more than thirty thousand men, to oppose two hundred thousand of his enemies. I can hardly observe any part of Sulla's conduct, that deserves greater applause than this,—that, while the party of Marius and Cinna held Italy in subjection, during three years, he never dissembled his intention of turning his arms against them, though he did not relinquish the business in which he was engaged. For he judged it proper to reduce an enemy, before he took vengeance on a countryman; so that when apprehension of a foreign foe should be removed, and after he should have conquered all opposition abroad, he should then overcome any troubles which existed at home. Before the arrival of Lucius Sulla, however, Cinna was slain in a mutiny of soldiers. Such a man deserved to

BOOK die by the hand of an executioner, rather
II. than by that of a soldier. Still it may be
truly said of him, that he dared what no good
man would dare, and accomplished what none
but the bravest could accomplish. That he
was precipitate in judging, but in executing,
manly. Carbo did not elect a colleague in
his room, but continued sole consul through
all the rest of the year.

XXV. You would think that Sulla came
into Italy, not to make war, but to conciliate
peace, so quietly did he lead his army through
Calabria and Apulia into Campania, taking
the greatest care of the fruits, lands, inhabi-
tants, and cities. He certainly did endeavour
to effect a termination of the war on terms
of justice and equitable conditions, but peace
could not be agreeable to those whose pas-
sions were depraved and uncontrolled. In
the meantime Sulla's army increased daily;
for all the best and the wisest flocked to his
standard. Then, by a happy concurrence of
events, he overcame the consuls Scipio and
Norbanus near Capua. Norbanus he con-
quered in battle; and Scipio, who was de-
serted by his troops and delivered into his
hands, he dismissed in safety. Sulla dif-
fered

ferred so much in the characters of warrior BOOK
and conqueror, that while he was advancing II.
toward victory, he was to be ranked among
the mildest, but after it was obtained, more
cruel than any on record. Thus he dismissed
the disarmed consul, as we have said, and in
like manner Sertorius, the firebrand which
soon after kindled so great a war, and many
others who fell into his power: so that he
affords, in my opinion, a conspicuous instance
of two distinct and most opposite minds in
the same person. After the victory which,
on his descent from Mount Tifata, he gained
over Caius Norbanus, he gave solemn thanks
to Diana, to which deity that tract is deemed
sacred, and dedicated to the goddess the
waters so much celebrated for their salubrity,
and the cure of diseases, with all the adja-
cent grounds. The memory of this religious
gratitude is preserved to this day, by an in-
scription on a pillar at the door of her tem-
ple, and another on a brazen tablet within.

XXVI. The next consuls were Carbo, a
third time, and Caius Marius, son of him who
had been seven times consul; the latter was
then twenty-six years old, and inherited his
father's spirit, though without his experience.

BOOK II. He made many courageous efforts, and in all supported the character of consul; but being defeated in battle by Sulla, at Sacriportus, he retired with his army to Præneste, which was naturally strong, and was garrisoned by his troops. To fill up the measure of the publice calamities in that state, where it ever had been customary with men to vie with each other in virtues, they now vied in crimes, and he valued himself as the best who had proved himself the worst. Thus Damasippus, then prætor, during the contest at Sacriportus, murdered in the Hostilian senate-house, as abettors of Sulla's party, Lucius Domitius, Scævola, who was chief pontiff, and very highly celebrated for his knowledge of the laws, both divine and human, Caius Carbo of prætorian rank, brother of the consul, and Antistius, who had been ædile. Let not Calpurnia, daughter of Bestia, wife of Antistius, lose the renown of a very glorious act. When her husband was put to death, as we have said, she stabbed herself with a sword. What an accession of glory and fame to her family. Her merit shines conspicuous; her father's is buried in obscurity.

XXVII. At this time, Pontius Telesinus, a ^{BOOK} _{H.} Samnite general, remarkable for resolution in — war and peace, and a most bitter enemy to all the race of Romans, collected about forty thousand young men of the greatest bravery, and the most determined obstinacy in continuing the war; and in the consulate of Carbo and Marius, an hundred and eleven years from the present, on the calends of November, maintained such a fight with Sulla at the Colline gate, as brought him and the republic into the utmost peril: nor was the state in more imminent danger when Hannibal's camp was seen within three miles of the city, than on that day, when Telesinus, flying about among the ranks of his countrymen, and, averring that this was the last day of the Romans, exhorted them in a loud voice to destroy the city, adding, that they would never get rid of those wolves, the devourers of Italian liberty, until the woods that afforded them refuge were cut down. At length, after the first hour of the night, the Roman troops took breath, and those of the enemy retired. Next day Telesinus was found mortally wounded, but wearing the looks of a conqueror, rather than of a man at the point of death. Sulla ordered his head to be cut off,

BOOK off, and carried round the walls of Præneste
II. within view of the town. Young Caius Marius, then at length seeing his case desperate, endeavoured to make his way out through subterraneous passages, which had been wrought with wonderful labour, and led to different parts of the adjacent country: but as soon as he emerged from the same, he was slain by persons stationed there for the purpose. Some say, that he fell by his own hand; others, that he and his younger brother Telesinus, who had been shut up with him, and was attempting to escape, dispatched each other with mutual wounds. In whatever manner he died, his memory, even at this day, is not obscured by the grand reputation of his father. What was Sulla's opinion of this youth is manifest; for after his death, and not before, he assumed the title of Fælix (the fortunate): and most just would have been his claim to it, if his victories and his life had ended together. The commander of the forces that besieged Marius in Præneste was Lucretius Ofella, who had been attached to the party of Marius, and deserted to Sulla. The happy issue of that day, on which Telesinus and the Samnite army were repulsed, Sulla honoured with perpetual commemoration

tion in Circensian games, which are exhibited BOOK
under the title of "Sulla's Victory." II.

XXVIII. In a short space before Sulla's success at Sacriportus, several officers of his party had gained important victories over the enemy ; the two Servilii at Clusium, Metellus Pius at Faventia, and Marcus Lucullus near Fidentia. The miseries of civil war seemed now to be at an end, when they were renewed with additional violence by Sulla. He was invested with the dictatorship, an office which had been in disuse an hundred and twenty years, for the last was in the year subsequent to Hannibal's departure from Italy ; which evinces, that the Roman people did not so much value the advantages accruing from that office, as they dreaded its power : and this power, which had been formerly employed in preserving the state from imminent dangers, he used with all the wantonness of unrestrained cruelty. He first invented the plan of proscription,— would he had been the last that practised it !— and the consequences were, that in a state where justice is administered to the most despicable buffoon, in case of verbal abuse, there, the hire for murdering a Roman citizen was publicly proclaimed ; he gained

BOOK II. gained the largest property who had committed the most murders; nor was the reward for the head of an enemy higher than for that of a citizen. He vented not his barbarous rage on those only who had borne arms against him, but on many who could not be charged with any guilt. Beside this, the goods of the proscribed were sold, and the children, after being excluded from the property of their fathers, were also deprived of the right of suing for places of honour; thus, what was most unreasonable, the sons of senators were obliged to undergo the burdens of their situation, and at the same time lost their privileges.

XXIX. A short time before Lucius Sulla's arrival in Italy, Cneius Pompey, son of that Pompey whose great exploits in the Marian war, when he was consul, we have mentioned above, being at this time twenty-three years of age, an hundred and thirteen years ago,—out of his own private resources, and his own judgment, formed grand designs, and as grandly put them in execution. With intent to assert and restore the dignity of his country, he collected a strong army from the district of Picenum, which was entirely filled with his father's

father's clients. A just delineation of this BOOK
man's great character would fill many VOL.
volumes; my scanty limits confine me to a few
words. His mother was of the Lucilian race,
his family was senatorian; he excelled in
beauty, not such as adorns the bloom of life,
but dignified and serene; and as this was well
adapted to his elevated dignity and station,
so it accompanied him to the last day of his
life. He possessed a highly moral disposi-
tion, the strictest integrity of conduct, with a
moderate share of eloquence. He was excess-
sively covetous of power when conferred on
him out of regard to his merit, and not of
such as he might acquire by irregular means.
In war, he was the most skilful of generals;
in peace, the most modest of citizens, except
when he apprehended that he might have an
equal. He was constant in his friendships,
moderate in case of difference in opinion,
cordial in reconciliation, and most ready to
admit an apology. He never, or very rarely,
made a stretch of power, and was almost ex-
empt from vice, unless it be reckoned one
that, in a free state, (the mistress of the world,
where, in right, every fellow-citizen was his
equal,) he could not endure to see any
one raised to a level with him in dignity.

From

BOOK From the time of his assuming the manly
II. gown, he was trained to war under the guidance
of his father, a general of consummate
judgment; and he improved a genius naturally good, and capable of attaining all useful
knowlege, with such singular skill in military
business, that while Sertorius gave higher
praise to Metellus, he stood in greater dread
of Pompey.

XXX. At this time Marcus Perperna, of
prætorian rank, one of the proscribed, whose
family was more respectable than his disposi-
tion, assassinated Sertorius during supper
at Osca; and by this execrable deed pur-
chased a certain victory for the Romans, de-
struction for his own party, and a most shame-
ful death for himself. Metellus and Pompey
triumphed over Spain. Even at the time of
this triumph, Pompey was still a Roman
knight; yet on the day preceding the com-
mencement of his consulship, he rode through
the city in his chariot. Is it not matter of
wonder, that this man, elevated to the summit
of dignity through so many extraordinary
gradations of preferment, should take um-
brage at the Roman senate and people in
admitting Caius Cæsar a candidate for a
second

second consulship ? It shews how apt men are B.O.O.K. II.
to overlook every thing in their own cases, and to allow no kind of indulgence to others ; measuring their dislike of proceedings, not by the merits of the case, but by their own wishes and conceived characters. In this consulate, Pompey restored the tribunitian power, of which Sulla had left the shadow without the substance. While the war of Sertorius continued in Spain, sixty-seven vagabonds, headed by Spartacus, made their escape out of a gladiator's school at Capua ; and, forcibly supplying themselves with swords in that city, directed their course at first to Mount Vesuvius. Afterwards, increasing daily in numbers, they brought many and grievous disasters on Italy. At length they became so numerous, that in their last battle they opposed forty thousand men to the Roman army. The honour of terminating this war fell to Marcus Crassus, who soon after became one of the heads of the whole Roman people.

XXXI. The character of Cneius Pompey had attracted the admiration of the whole world, and he was deemed something more than man. In the consulship he had very

BOOK laudably taken an oath, that, on the expiration of his office, he would not take the government of any province; and this oath he had observed, when two years after, Aulus Gabinius, a plebeian tribune, got a law passed, that, whereas certain pirates kept the world under continual apprehensions with their fleets, acting more in the manner of regular war than of predatory excursions, and had even plundered several cities in Italy; that therefore Cneius Pompey should be commissioned to suppress them; and should have authority equal to that of the proconsuls, in all the provinces, to the distance of fifty miles from the sea. By which decrees, the government of almost the whole world was vested in one man. However, a law of the like kind had been made two years before in respect of Marc Anthony when ~~praetor~~: but as the character of the person concerned renders the precedent more or less pernicious, so it augments or diminishes men's disapprobation of the proceeding. In the case of Anthony they acquiesced without displeasure, because people rarely conceive any jealousy on the preferment of those whose power they do not fear: on the contrary, they look with dread on extraordinary powers

powers being lodged in the hands of persons, ^{BOOK} _{II.} who seem able either to retain or resign them at their own choice, and who are limited merely by their own inclination. The party of the nobles opposed the measure, but prudence was overcome by party violence.

XXXII. It is proper to mention here, an instance of the moderation of Quintus Catulus, and of the high estimation in which he was held. Arguing against this decree in the assembly, he said, that undoubtedly Pompey was a man of very great merit, but he was already too great for a member of a free state: all power ought not to be reposed on one individual: adding these words,—“ If “ any thing shall happen to that man, whom “ will ye substitute in his place ? ” To which the whole assembly answered aloud, “ Yourself, “ Quintus Catulus.” On this, being overcome by the general concurrence of opinion, and by such an honourable testimony of the public esteem, he withdrew from the assembly. Here it is pleasing to admire the modesty of the man and the justice of the people; his modesty in desisting from pressing his opinion farther; their justice, in proving themselves unwilling to defraud him of a testimony of esteem, due

BOOK to his merit, though he was arguing against
II. and opposing their inclinations. About the
same time, Cotta divided equally between the
two orders the right of becoming judges,
which Caius Gracchus had taken from the
senate, and bestowed on the knights; and
which Sulla had transferred from them to the
senators. Roscius Otho now restored to the
knights their places in the theatre. Cneius
Pompey having engaged many officers of
great abilities to assist him in the war, and
having formed a navy sufficient to command
every part of the sea, very soon, with his
invincible hand, freed the world from appre-
hension, defeated the pirates in many en-
gagements in various places, and, attacking
them on the coast of Cilicia, gave them a final
overthrow. In order to finish the sooner
a war so widely diffused, he collected the
remains of these people together, and ap-
pointed them a fixed residence, in a country
remote from the sea. Some blame this step:
but while we ought perhaps to be satisfied
with the proceeding of such a man, reason
makes any person a competent judge of its
propriety. Enabling them to live without
plundering, he of course diverted them from
such practice.

XXXIII. The

XXXIII. The war of the pirates was now BOOK
II. near a conclusion, but that with Mithridates was still carried on by Lucullus, who, on the expiration of his consulship, seven years before, had been appointed governor of Asia, where he was to oppose that monarch, and had performed great and memorable actions, having often defeated him in various places, relieved Cyzicum by a glorious victory, and vanquished Tigranes in Armenia, the greatest king of the age. He was now rather unwilling, than unable, to put the finishing hand to the war; but, though in all other respects highly commendable, and almost invincible, he had such a passion for riches, as caused the loss of his government. While affairs were in this state, Manilius, a plebeian tribune, always venal, and the tool of men in power, proposed an order, that the war with Mithridates should be conducted by Cneius Pompey. This order was passed; and a quarrel ensued between the two commanders, attended with violent altercations. Pompey reproached Lucullus with his scandalous love of money, and Lucullus railed at Pompey's inordinate ambition, while neither could disprove the imputation laid against him. For Pompey, from his first engagement in public business,

BOOK could never with patience endure an equal,
II. and in cases where he was entitled to the first share of honour, he wished to engross the whole; no man in short being less covetous of all things else, or more so of glory. In his pursuit of employments of honour, he was immoderate; yet in office, his administration shewed perfect moderation. Though he entered into business with pleasure, he quitted it without regret, resigning at the will of others, what his own wishes had induced him to solicit. Lucullus, in other particulars a very great man, was the first introducer of the luxury which now prevails in buildings, entertainments, and furniture; so that, in allusion to the structures which he raised in the sea, and his conducting the sea into the land, through passages dug under mountains, Pompey the Great used facetiously to call him, "Xerxes in a Roman gown."

XXXIV. About that time, the island of Crete was reduced under the dominion of the Roman people by Quintus Metellus. The Roman troops had undergone much fatigue there during three years, in consequence of the exertions of two commanders, Panares and Lasthenes, who drew together twenty-four

four thousand young men, swift of foot, perfectly qualified to endure the toil of fighting and of labour, and remarkably skilled in archery. Cneius Pompey did not restrain his wishes of participating even the renown acquired there, but attempted to claim a share in the success. However, their own singular merits, and the general disgust at Pompey entertained by all the best men, turned the favour of the public towards the triumphs of Lucullus and Metellus. Soon after, Marcus Cicero, who was indebted to himself for all his promotions, the noblest of all the new men, of excellent character and great abilities, to whom we are obliged for our not being conquered in genius by those whom we conquered in arms ; was appointed consul, and with extraordinary courage, firmness, vigilance, and activity, detected a conspiracy formed by Sergius Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of both the higher orders. Catiline was compelled to fly from the city, by his fear of the consul's power. Lentulus, who had been consul and was then in his second prætorship, Cethegus, and several others of great note, were, by the consul's order under the authority of the senate, put to death in prison.

BOOK
II.

BOOK **IL** **XXXV.** That day of the senate's meeting, on which these transactions passed, displayed in the brightest colours the virtue of Marcus Cato, which on many prior occasions had shone conspicuous, and with peculiar lustre. He was great-grandson of Marcus Cato, the founder of the Porcian family, a man who exactly resembled virtue itself, and with respect to disposition in every particular approached nearer to the gods than to mankind; who never acted rightly, that he might appear so to do, but because he could not act otherwise; who never thought any thing reasonable, that was not likewise just: exempt in a word from every vice, he kept fortune always in his own power. He was then very young, and plebeian tribune elect; some had advised that Lentulus and the other conspirators should be kept in custody in the free-towns; but when he, almost among the last, was asked his opinion, he inveighed against the conspiracy with such energy and eloquence, that, by the warmth of his discourse, he rendered suspicious the language of all that recommended lenity, as if they were connected with the plot. So forcibly did he represent the dangers impending from the destruction and burning of the city, with

the subversion of the established state of ~~BOOK~~
 public affairs, and so highly did he extol the ~~BOOK~~
 merit of the consul, that the whole senate
 concurred in his opinion, that capital pu-
 nishment should be inflicted on those above-
 mentioned ; and the greater part of that body
 escorted him to his house. But Cataline was
 not less resolute in the prosecution of his
 schemes, than he had been in forming them ;
 for, fighting with the greatest courage, he re-
 signed in battle, the breath which he owed to
 the executioner.

XXXVI. The consulate of Cicero, ninety-
 two years from the present, received no small
 accession of honour by the birth of the divine
 Augustus, whose greatness afterwards cast a
 shade of obscurity over all men of all nations.
 It may at present seem almost superfluous to
 mark the times of eminent geniuses, for who
 does not know that in this period flourished
 Cicero, Hortensius, Crassus, Cato, Sulpicius,
 together with Brutus, Calidius, Cœlius, Cal-
 vus, and Cæsar next in eloquence to Cicero ;
 beside the disciples (as they may be called)
 of these, Corvinus, Asinius Pollio, Sallust
 the rival of Thucydides, and Livy who
 equalled Sallust ; also the poets Varro, and

BOOK Lucretius, and Catullus, inferior to none in
II. that kind of composition which he practised.

To enumerate those that are before our eyes, might hazard an imputation of folly, for, as we cannot withhold our admiration of living authors, so we find it difficult to criticize them: but the most eminent of the present age are, Virgil the prince of poets, Rabirius, Tibullus, and Naso, perfect in their respective departments.

XXXVII. During the time of these transactions in Rome and Italy, Cneius Pompey carried on the war with extraordinary success against Mithridates; who, after the departure of Lucullus, had formed a new army of very great force. But the King being routed, and put to flight, and stripped of all his forces, went into Armenia, to his son-in-law Tigranes, the most powerful king of that age, notwithstanding the reduction of his strength by the arms of Lucullus. Pompey therefore, in pursuit of both, entered Armenia. First, the son of Tigranes, who was at variance with his father, came over to him, and soon after, Tigranes in a suppliant manner surrendering himself and his kingdom to his disposal; previously declaring, that there was

no

no man, either of the Roman or of any ^{BOOK} _{II.} other nation, to whose honour he would entrust himself, but Cneius Pompey: wherefore any condition, whether favourable or adverse, that he should direct, would be tolerable to him. It was no disgrace to be conquered, nor dishonourable to submit to him whom fortune had elevated above all men. The King was allowed to retain the honour of sovereignty, but was mulcted in a vast sum of money; the whole of which, according to Pompey's constant practice, was lodged in the hands of the quæstor, and registered in the public accounts. Syria and the other provinces which he had seized, were taken from him; some were restored to the Roman people. Others then first came under its dominion, as Syria, which at that time became tributary. The King's dominion was confined to Armenia.

XXXVIII. It seems not inconsistent with the plan laid down for this work, to give a brief account of the several states and nations that have been reduced into the form of provinces, and made tributary; and of the commanders who effected this, that the whole, being comprised in one view, may be more easily

BOOK easily understood, than in detached narrations. **II.** The first who carried over an army to Sicily, was the consul Claudius; and about fifty-two years after that, Claudius Marcellus, on the taking of Syracuse, made it a province. Regulus carried hostilities into Africa, about the ninth year of the first Punic war; but an hundred and five years after, (an hundred and seventy-five from the present,) Publius Scipio *Æ*milianus, on the destruction of Carthage, reduced Africa under provincial regulations. Sardinia submitted to a permanent yoke of government between the first and second Punic wars, through the conduct of Titus Manlius consul. It is a convincing proof of the warlike disposition of the nation, that the shutting of the temple of double-faced Janus gave indication of general peace, only once under the kings, a second time in the consulate of this Titus Manlius, and a third time in the reign of Augustus. The first who led armies into Spain were the two Scipios, Cneius and Publius, in the beginning of the second Punic war, two hundred and fifty years ago; after that, our possessions there varied, and were often partly lost, but the whole was made tributary by the arms of Augustus. Paullus subdued Macedonia,

donia, Mummius Achaia, Fulvius Nobilior **BOOK**
Ætolia. Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus, **II.**
took Asia from Antiochus, but after it had
been possessed some time by the Attalic
family, through the kindness of the Roman
senate and people, Marcus Perpenna, having
taken Aristonicus prisoner, laid it under tri-
bute. No person can claim the honour of
having subdued Cyprus, for it was in conse-
quence of a decree of the senate, the manage-
ment of Cato, and the death of its king,
which, conscious of guilt, he inflicted on him-
self, that it became a province. Crete was
punished, under the command of Metellus,
with the loss of its long-enjoyed liberty, and
Syria and Pontus are monuments of the bra-
vety of Cneius Pompey.

XXXIX. Gaul was first entered with an
army by Domitius, and Fabius the grandson
of Paullus, who got the title of Allobrogicus ;
and in after times, we often, with great detri-
ment to ourselves, made acquisitions there,
and lost them. But the most splendid achieve-
ment of Caius Cæsar is there conspicuous,
for, through his conduct and auspices, it was
so reduced, that it tamely pays almost the
same tribute as all the rest of the world. By
the

BOOK the same commanders Numidia was made
II. a province. Isauricus completely subdued Cilicia, and Manlius Vulso Gallogrecia, after the war of Antiochus. Bithynia, as we have said, was left as an inheritance by the will of Nicomedes. The divine Augustus, beside Spain and other nations, the inscription of whose names decorate his forum, by making Egypt tributary, brought into the treasury almost as great a revenue as his father had, by the reduction of Gaul. But Tiberius Cæsar extorted from the Illyrians and Dalmatians as explicit a confession of subjection as his parent had from the Spaniards, and annexed to our empire as new provinces, Rhætia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Parmonia, and the Scordisciæ. As he reduced these by arms, so, by the influence of his name, he made Cappadocia tributary to the Roman people. But let us return to the course of our narrative.

XL. Then followed the military exploits of Cneius Pompey, of which it is hard to tell, whether the glory or the toil was greater. Attended by victory, he traversed Media, Albania, Iberia, and then turned the direction of his march to the nations inhabiting the right side and the interior of Pontus,
the

the Colchians, Heniochians, and Achæans. B O O K
II.
Mithridates, sinking under the fortune of Pompey, and the treachery of his own son Pharnaces, was the last of independent kings, excepting the Parthian. Thus Pompey, victorious over every nation that he had visited, become greater than the wish of his countrymen, or even than his own, having in every particular surpassed the lot of human kind, returned to Italy. His return gave great satisfaction to the public, in consequence of an opinion that had been entertained ; for most people confidently said, that he would not come into the city without his army, and that he would fix such limits as he liked, to the liberties of the people. The more strongly they were affected by this apprehension, the more pleasing was the unassuming manner in which that great commander returned. For he disbanded his whole army at Brundusium, retaining merely the title of general, and with his own retinue, with which he was always accustomed to travel, came home to Rome; where, during two days, he exhibited a most magnificent triumph over so many kings, and, out of the spoils, conveyed to the treasury a much larger sum of money than had been known in any former instance, excepting

BOOK cepting that of Paullus. During the absence
II. of Cneius Pompey, Titus Ampius and Titus
Labienus, plebeian tribunes, got a law passed,
that at games in the Circus he might wear
a crown of laurel, and all the dress worn
in triumphs; and at exhibitions on the stage,
a purple-bordered robe, and laurel crown; but
this privilege he never thought proper to use
more than once, and, in truth, even that was
too much. Fortune exalted this man's dig-
nity, and with such large augmentations, that
he triumphed first over Africa, secondly over
Europe, and thirdly over Asia, rendering
each part of the globe a monument of
his victories. Eminent stations are never
exempt from envy. In this case, Lucul-
lus, who, however, was moved by resentment
of the ill treatment shewn him, and Metellus
Creticus, (who complained with justice, be-
cause Pompey had taken from him some cap-
tive leaders who were intended to have
graced his triumph,) in conjunction with
many of the nobles, laboured to prevent
either Pompey's engagements to the several
states, or his promises of rewards to the
deserving, being fulfilled according to his
direction.

XLI. Then

XLI. Then followed the consulship of ~~BOOK~~
Caius Cæsar, who arrests me while writing, ~~BOOK~~
and forces me, though in haste, to bestow
some time on him. He was born of the very
noble Julian family, and as all the most an-
tient writers agree, derived his pedigree from
Anchises and Venus. He was, in personal
beauty, the first of all his countrymen; in
vigour of mind indefatigable; liberal to ex-
cess; in spirit elevated above the nature and
the conception of man; in the grandeur of
his designs, the celerity of his military ope-
rations, and in the cheerfulness with which
he encountered dangers, exactly resembling
Alexander the Great when sober and free
from passion; he used food for the sus-
tance of life, not for pleasure. Though he
was closely connected in consanguinity with
Caius Marius, and was also son-in-law to
Cinna, (whose daughter he could by no
means be compelled to divorce, whereas
Marcus Piso, of consular rank, to gratify
Sulla, had divorced Annia, who had been
wife of Cinna,) and though he was about
nineteen years old when Sulla became master
of the state, yet the ministers and assistants
of Sulla, more than himself, made search for
him, in order to kill him; on which he
changed his clothes, and, putting on a mean
dress,

BOOK dress, escaped out of the city in the night.

II.

Afterwards, while he was still very young, he was taken by pirates, and during the whole time while detained by them, behaved in such a manner, as filled them with both terror and veneration: nor did he ever, either by night or day, take off his shoes, or his girdle (a circumstance which should not be omitted), for he apprehended, that if he made any alteration in his usual appearance, he might become suspected by those men who hitherto guarded him only with their eyes.

XLII. It would extend to too great a length, to recount particularly all his various and numerous services or the conduct of the magistrate, who then governed Asia, and who had through timidity abandoned the interest of the Roman people. One instance shall be mentioned, as a presage of the future greatness of Cæsar. On the night following the day on which he was ransomed by the public money of several states, (which, however, he managed so as to make the pirates give hostages to those states,) he collected a squadron of private vessels hastily fitted out, and sailing to the place where the pirates were, dispersed

persed a part of their fleet, sunk a part, and B O O K
took several of their ships and men, and then, ^{II.}
delighted at the success of his night expédi-
tion, returned to his friends. Having lodged
his prisoners in custody, he proceeded to
Bithynia, to the pro-consul Junius, who was
then governor of Asia, and requested, that he
would give orders for the punishment of the
prisoners. This he refused, and said he would
sell them, (for he was as envious as spirit-
less:) on which Cæsar with incredible speed
returned to the coast, and before letters from
the pro-consul about the business could be
conveyed to any, crucified all the prisoners. ✓

XLIII. As he was going in haste to Italy,
to take on him a priest's office;—for he had
been made a pontiff in his absence, having
formerly, when a mere boy, been appointed
by Marius and Cinna flamen of Jove, in the
room of Cotta a consular; which office, how-
ever, he lost on the success of Sulla, who annul-
led all their acts;—in order to avoid being de-
scribed by the pirates, who covered all the seas,
and were then with good reason incensed
against him, he, with two friends, and ten
servants, went on board a barge of four oars,
and thus crossed the most boisterous tract of

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the

BOOK the Adriatic sea. On his passage, having
II. seen, as he thought, some ships of the pirates,
he threw off his gown, and fastened his dag-
ger to his side, preparing himself for all
events, but soon discovered that his sight had
been deceived, and that a row of trees at a
distance had exhibited the appearance of the
rigging of ships. The rest of his acts in the
city, his celebrated accusation of Dolabella,
and the uncommon degree of public favour
shewn in that case, his remarkable political
contests with Quintus Catulus, and other very
eminent men, his having, before he was præ-
tor, carried the election to the office of chief
pontiff against Quintus Catulus, who was al-
lowed by all to be the first man in the senate,
his repairing in his ædileship the monuments
of Caius Marius even in opposition to the
nobility, his restoring at the same time to the
sons of the proscribed the right of obtaining
dignities, his prætorship and quæstorship dis-
charged with wonderful courage and activity
in Spain, where he was quæstor under An-
tistius Vetus, the grandfather of the present
Vetus, who is now a man of consular rank,
and a pontiff, and father of two consulars,
and priests, and who possesses as much good-
ness, as can be conceived to flow from honest
integrity,

integrity, in any human heart,—all these ~~BOOK~~ things are so universally known, that they ~~BOOK~~^{II.} need not the aid of my pen.

XLIV. In this man's consulate, there was formed between him, Cneius Pompey, and Marcus Crassus, a treaty of partition of power, which proved fatal to the city, and the world, and not less so to themselves, though at different times. Pompey's reason for following this plan was, that his acts in the foreign provinces, which were censured by many, as we have mentioned before, might at last be confirmed, by means of Cæsar, while consul: Cæsar's, because he imagined, that by giving way to Pompey's glory, he should augment his own; and by throwing on him the jealousy attending the power which they held in common, he should gain stability to his own strength: Crassus's was, that he hoped to acquire, through the influence of Pompey, and the strength of Cæsar, that pre-eminence, which he never could attain by his own single efforts. An affinity also was contracted by marriage between Cæsar and Pompey, for Cneius the Great married the daughter of Caius Cæsar. The latter while consul procured a law to be passed, which was also

BOOK supported by Pompey, that the Campanian
II. lands should be distributed to plebeians; in consequence of which, about twenty thousand citizens were conducted thither, and the privileges of Rome were restored to that country, about an hundred and fifty-two years after Capua had, in the Punic war, been reduced by the Romans into the form of a prefecture. Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, being more willing, than able, to obstruct his proceedings, confined himself to his house during the greater part of the year, by which conduct, while he wished to increase people's jealousy of his colleague, he only increased his power. Then it was decreed, that Cæsar should hold the province of Gaul during five years.

XLV. Publius Clodius, a man of noble birth, eloquent, and daring, who had no other guide for his words or actions than his own will, indefatigable in the execution of wicked projects, and charged before a court of justice for incestuous commerce with his own sisters, and for having committed adultery amidst the most solemn religious rites of the Roman people; — this man, I say, being actuated by a most violent enmity to Marcus Cicero,

Cicero, (how indeed could any thing like ~~BOOK~~
friendship subsist between men of such dis-
similar characters?) at this time renounced
his patrician rank, became a plebeian, was
appointed a tribune, and then passed a law,
that any person who put a Roman citizen to
death without a judicial sentence, should be
sent into banishment. Though Cicero was
not named in this law, yet at him alone
was it aimed. Thus a man, who had per-
formed the most meritorious services to the
state, and who had saved his country, received
in recompence the calamity of exile. Cæsar
and Pompey were in some degree suspected
of having abetted this persecution of Cicero.
The latter seemed to have drawn this on
himself by refusing to be one of the twenty
commissioners for dividing the lands of Cam-
pania. However, in less than two years, he
was restored to his dignity and his country,
by the late, but intrepid exertions of Cneius
Pompey ; in compliance with the wishes of
all Italy, and with the decrees of the senate,
and through the spirited management of An-
nius Milo a plebeian tribune. Since the exile
and recall of Numidicus, no man's banish-
ment excited more regret, or his return more

BOOK joy. His house, which through the malice of
II. Clodius had been demolished, the senate re-
built with great magnificence. The same
Publius Clodius removed Marcus Cato to a
distance from the scene of public business,
under the colour of giving him a very ho-
nourable employment. For he passed a law,
that he should be sent in character of quæs-
tor, with the authority of prætor, attended
also by a quæstor, into the island of Cyprus,
to despoil Ptolemy of that kingdom, who de-
served such treatment by his total depravity
of manners. But before Cato's arrival, he
put an end to his own life, and Cato brought
home from Cyprus a much larger quantity
of treasure, than had been expected. To
praise such a man for being uncorrupt,
would be a derogation from his character:
he may be charged with some degree of arro-
gance, for when all the people of the city,
together with the consuls and the senate,
poured forth to compliment him as he ap-
proached on board-ship on the Tiber, he did
not disembark to join them, until he arrived
at the spot, where the treasure was to be
landed.

XLVI. While

XLVI. While Cæsar was performing most BOOK
glorious exploits in Gaul, the relation of II.
which would require many volumes, and not
content with most numerous and important
victories, or with killing or taking thousands
of the enemy, had afterwards transported
his army into Britain, seeking, as it were, a
new world for our government and his own, a
celebrated pair of consuls, Cneius Pompey
and Marcus Crassus, entered on their second
consulship, which they neither acquired by
honourable means, nor conducted in a proper
manner. By a law which Pompey proposed
to the people, Cæsar was continued in the
government of the province during the same
length of time as before; Syria was decreed
to Crassus, who now meditated a war with
Parthia. This man, in other respects irre-
proachable, and not given to dissipation,
yet in his eager pursuit of money and fame,
neither knew any bounds, nor admitted any
restraint. When he was setting out for Syria,
the plebeian tribunes endeavoured in vain to
detain him, by presenting to his view omens
of direful import; and if their curses had
taken effect on him alone, the loss of the
general, while the army was safe, would have
been rather an advantage to the public.

H 4

Crassus

BOOK Crassus had crossed the Euphrates, and was
II. on his march towards Seleucia, when King
Orodes surrounding him with an immense
force of cavalry, slew him together with the
greater part of the Roman army. Caius
Cassius, (who was afterwards guilty of the
most atrocious crime,) being at that time
quaestor, preserved the remains of the le-
gions; and so effectually retained Syria in
the power of the Romans, that he routed
the Parthians who invaded it, and compelled
them to fly.

XLVII. During this period, that before
spoken of, and the one that immediately fol-
lowed, above four hundred thousand of the
enemy were slain by Caius Cæsar, and a
greater number taken. He fought often in
pitched battles, often on his march, often in
sallies; twice he penetrated into Britain; in
short, of nine campaigns, scarcely one passed
without his justly deserving a triumph. But
near Alesia such great atchievements were
effected, as the powers of man could hardly
venture to attempt, little less than those of a
deity accomplish. In the seventh year of
Cæsar's stay in Gaul, died Julia, wife of
Pompey the Great, the connecting pledge of
the

the concord between Cneius Pompey and Caius Cæsar; which, through their mutual jealousy of power, had been some time in danger of dissolution; and, as if fortune had resolved to tear asunder every tie between leaders destined to so great a contest, the little son of Pompey, born of Julia, died likewise, in a short time after. Then, while ambition extended its rage to the sword and civil slaughter, of which neither end nor limits could be found, his third consulship was conferred on Cneius Pompey singly, with the approbation even of those, who had formerly opposed his promotion. The honour of the office thus conferred leading him to believe, that the party of the nobles were reconciled to him, proved a principal cause of his alienation from Caius Cæsar. But he employed the whole power of that consulship in laying restraints on corruption. In that year, Publius Clodius was killed by Milo then candidate for the consulship, in a quarrel that arose, on their meeting near Bovillæ; an act of bad precedent, but profitable to the public. Not only the general abhorrence of the deed, but also the inclination of Pompey caused Milo to be condemned on his trial; though Marcus Cato publicly declared his opinion in favour of

BOOK of his acquittal. Had he made this declaration sooner, several would have followed his example, and approved of the killing such a member of the community, than whom, there never lived one more pernicious to the state, or a greater enemy to all good men.

XLVIII. In a short time after this, the flames of civil war began to blaze, while every man who regarded justice, wished that both Cæsar and Pompey would disband their armies. For Pompey, in his second consulate, had desired that the province of Spain might be assigned to him; and during three years, while he directed affairs in Rome, administered the government there in his absence by his deputies, Afranius of consular, and Petreius of prætorian rank; and while he assented to the judgment of those who insisted on Cæsar's disbanding his army, he opposed those who required the same from himself. Had this man died two years before recourse was had to arms, after he had finished the structures erected at his own expence, his theatre, and the buildings around it, and when he was attacked by a violent disorder in Campania, at which time all Italy offered prayers for his recovery, (a compliment

pliment never before paid to any citizen,) **BOOK**
fortune would not have had opportunity to **II.**
bring him to ruin, and he would have carried
unfaded to the shades below, the grandeur
that he enjoyed in this upper world. In
the whole course of the civil war, and of all
the calamities that thence ensued, through a
space of twenty successive years, there was
not a more active, or more destructive
incendiary, than Caius Curio, a plebeian tri-
bune. He was of noble birth, eloquent, in-
trepid, as prodigal of his own fortune and
reputation as of those of others, a man
most ingenious in wickedness, who em-
ployed his eloquence to the injury of the
public, whose passions, pleasures, and lusts,
no degree of wealth could satisfy. At first
he joined the party of Pompey, that is, as
it was then deemed, the party of the com-
monwealth; soon after, he pretended to op-
pose both Pompey and Cæsar, but, in reality,
was inclined to favour the latter. Whether he
acted thus from his own choice, or in con-
sequence of a bribe of one million of ses-
terces, as has been said, we shall leave unde-
termined. At last, when salutary conditions,
tending to unite all parties in peace, had
been very justly demanded by Cæsar, and
were admitted by Pompey, this man inter-
rupted

BOOK II. rupted and broke off the treaty, while Cicero laboured, with singulat zeal, to preserve concord in the state. As the course of these and the preceding transactions is correctly set forth in the volumes of others, so I trust it will be in mine.

XLIX. Let our work now return to its proposed plan ; but let me first congratulate Quintus Catulus, the two Luculli, Metellus, and Hortensius, on this account, that after having flourished in the state without envy, and enjoyed great eminence without danger, they died quiet, or at least not precipitated deaths, before the fatal beginning of the civil wars. In the consulate of Lentulus and Marcellus, seven hundred and three years after the building of the city, and seventy-eight before the commencement of your consulate, Marcus Vinicius, the civil war blazed forth. The cause of one of the leaders appeared to be the better, that of the other was the stronger. On one side every thing was specious, on the other every thing was more powerful. The support of the senate armed Pompey with confidence, that of the soldiery, Cæsar. The consuls and senate bestowed the supreme command

on the cause, not on the man. No expedient was left untried by Cæsar that tended to the preservation of peace; to none did the friends of Pompey agree. While one of the consuls was more violent than he ought, Lentulus saw that his own safety was incompatible with that of the state; but Marcus Cato insisted, that it were better to die than to suffer any citizen to dictate terms to the commonwealth. A man of antient probity and sound judgment would give greater praise to Pompey's party; a man of prudence would follow Cæsar's; deeming the former honourable, the latter more formidable. At length, when they had rejected every demand of Cæsar's and passed a decree that, content with retaining the mere title of a province and a single legion, he should come to Rome in a private character, and, as candidate for the consulship, submit himself to the votes of the Roman people, Cæsar, resolving on war, passed the Rubicon with his army. Cneius Pompey, the consuls, and the greater part of the senate, withdrawing from the city, and then from Italy, sailed over to Dyrrachium.

BOOK
II.

L. But

BOOK ^{II.} L. But Cæsar, having got into his power
Domitius, and the legions with him at Corfinium, dismissed that general without delay, and every one else who chose to go to Pompey, and then followed to Brundusium; which clearly proved, that his wish was to put an end to war while the powers of the state were unimpaired, and negotiation open, rather than to overpower his opponents in their flight. Finding that the consuls had sailed, he returned to the city, and having represented in the senate, and in a general assembly, the motives of his proceedings, and the cruel necessity under which he lay, being compelled to take arms by the arming of others, he determined to go into Spain. The expedition was retarded some time by the conduct of Marseilles, which, with more loyalty than good policy, unseasonably assumed the arbitration between those great men in arms; a case in which such only ought to interpose as have power to enforce submission to their award. The army commanded by Afranius a consular, and Petreius a praetorian, filled with admiration of the vigour and splendour of his conduct, immediately on its arrival surrendered itself to Cæsar. Both the deputies, and all men of

every rank who wished to follow them, were **BOOK**
permitted to go to Pompey. **II.**

LI. In the year following, Dyrrachium, and the whole country round it, were occupied by Pompey's camps; for, by collecting about him the legions from all the foreign provinces, auxiliary troops, both horse and foot, with the forces of the several kings, tetrarchs, and dynasties, he had formed an immense army; and had guarded the sea with such a line of ships, as he thought would prevent Caesar's transporting his legions. Caius Caesar, however, proceeding with his usual dispatch and success, let nothing hinder him and his army from making good their passage by sea, whither and when he pleased. At first he pitched his camp almost close to Pompey's, and soon shut him up within a circumvallation and forts: but scarcity distressed the besiegers more than the besieged. On this occasion, Cornelius Balbus, with a spirit of enterprize almost incredible, went into the enemy's camp, and held frequent conferences with Lentulus, while the consul was undetermined at what price he would sell himself; thus opening the way to those perfomers, by which, (not a sojourner in Spain,

BOOK ^{II.} Spain, but a native Spaniard,) he rose to a triumph and pontificate, and, from a private station, became a consul. Several battles were fought with various success, but one proved very favourable to Pompey's army, and Cæsar's troops met a severe repulse.

LII. Cæsar then marched his army into Thessaly, the destined scene of his future victory. Pompey's friends advised very different measures, most of them recommending him to cross over to Italy, (and, in truth, no plan could have been adopted more advantageous to his party,) others, to protract the war, because his circumstances would daily become more and more favourable through the accession of persons of consequence, yet he was hurried on by his natural impiety, and followed the enemy. The plan of my present work does not permit me to describe at large the battle of Pharsalia, so fatal to the Roman nation, the vast torrents of blood spilled on both sides; the two heads of the republic dashed together in conflict; one eye of the Roman empire struck out, or the great number and quality of Pompey's friends who perished. One thing must be observed, that as soon as Cæsar saw Pompey's

pey's line give way, he made it his first and **BOOK**
 principal care, (if I may use a military IL
 phrase to which I have been accustomed,) to
 disband from his breast every consideration
 of party. O immortal gods! what requital
 did this merciful man afterwards receive for
 his kindness then shewn to Brutus? Nothing
 would have been more admirable, more
 grand, more illustrious, than this victory, for
 the nation did not miss one citizen, except
 those who fell in battle. But obstinacy de-
 feated the exertions of compassion, as the
 conqueror granted life more freely than the
 vanquished received it.

LIII. Pompey fled with two Lentuli, con-
 sulars, his son Sextus, and a prætorian named
 Favonius, whom chance had assembled in his
 company. Some advised him to retire into
 Parthia, others, into Africa, where he would
 have King Juba a most faithful adherent of
 his party; but considering the benefits which
 he had conferred on the father of Ptolemy,
 who now, though scarcely arrived at man-
 hood, reigned at Alexandria, he determined
 to repair to Egypt. But who, when a benefac-
 tor is in adversity, remembers his kindnesses?
 Who thinks gratitude due to the unfortunate?

I

Or

BOOK ^{II.} Or when was it known that faith did not change with fortune? So in this case, the King, instigated by Theodotus and Achillas, sent people with orders that, on the arrival of Pompey, who was now accompanied in his flight by his wife Cornelia, having taken her on board at Mitylene, they should meet him, and recommend his removal from the transport ship into the vessel then sent. No sooner had he done this, than he, the first man in the Roman nation, was murdered by the order and direction of an Egyptian slave. This happened in the consulate of Caius Cæsar and Publius Servilius. After his three consulships, and as many triumphs, and after his subduing the world, on the day preceding his birth-day, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, thus ended the life of this most virtuous and most excellent man, who had been elevated to a pre-eminence of glory beyond which it is impossible to ascend. In his case, Fortune acted so inconsistently with herself, that he who lately could find no more land to conquer, now found none for a grave. May I not impute inattention to those who have made a mistake of five years in regard to the age of this great captain, who lived almost in our own times: since the series of years from

from the consulate of Caius Atinius and ^{BOOK} Quintus Servilius might be so easily adjusted. ^{IL} I say not this for the sake of making charges, but to prevent charges against myself.

LIV. Yet the King and those who governed him showed not more fidelity to Cæsar, than they had shewn to Pompey; for, at his coming, they made a treacherous attempt on his life, and were afterwards so audacious, as to make open war on him. But they soon paid the penalty of their behaviour to both those great commanders, the living and the deceased, for they suffered deserved punishment. Pompey was now no more, but his fame still flourished in all parts of the world. A warm attachment to his cause excited a formidable war in Africa, which was conducted by King Juba and Scipio, the latter a man of consular rank, whom Pompey, two years before his death, had chosen to make his father-in-law: their strength being augmented by Marcus Cato, who brought some legions to them, though with the utmost difficulty, by reason of the badness of the roads, and the scarcity of provisions. The soldiers offered the supreme

BOOK command to Cato; but he chose rather to
II. act under a person of superior dignity.

LV. The obligation of my promise of brevity reminds me with what a hasty pace I must run over every thing. Cæsar pursuing his good fortune, sailed to Africa, of which the army of Pompey's party had gained possession, after killing Curio, the leader of the Julian party. There he fought at first, with various success: but afterwards with such as usually attended him, and the enemy's forces were obliged to yield. He displayed there the same clemency toward the vanquished, that he had shewn on former occasions. Caius Cæsar had no sooner finished the war in Africa, than he found that another had arisen in Spain, which threatened to give him much more trouble; (as to his conquest of Pharnaces, it scarcely added any thing to his renown;) for Cneius Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, a young man capable of the most vigorous exertions in war, had formed there a powerful and formidable opposition; as multitudes, still revering the great fame of his father, flocked to his aid from every quarter of the globe. His usual fortune accompanied Cæsar into Spain; but never did he, anywhere

where else, encounter in battle more difficulty, or more danger ; so that, his prospect of success seeming worse than doubtful, he dismounted from his horse, placed himself before the line of his troops, who were retreating, and, after reproaching fortune, for having preserved him for such an end, declared to his soldiers, that he would not retire one step ; bidding them therefore consider, what commander they were going to abandon, and in what situation. Shame, rather than courage, made them return to the fight ; which was more bravely maintained by the general than by the soldiery. Cneius Pompey was found grievously wounded in a solitary desert, and was slain. Labienus and Varus fell in the engagement.

LVI. Cæsar, victorious over all opposition, came home to Rome ; and, what is next to incredible, granted pardon to all who had borne arms against him, and filled the city with most magnificent exhibitions of gladiators, sea-fights, contests of horsemen and footmen, and also of elephants ; and with the celebration of a feast which he gave to the people, that lasted many days. He performed five triumphs : the figures displayed

BOOK in that over Gaul were made of citron wood; in that over Pontus, of acanthus wood; in that over Alexandria, of tortoise-shell; in that over Africa, of ivory; and in that over Spain, of polished silver. The money arising from the spoils was somewhat more than sixty millions of sesterces. But this great man, who had used all his victories with so much mercy, was not allowed to rest in the possession of supreme power longer than five months; for he returned to Rome in the month of October, and was killed on the ides of March, in consequence of a conspiracy formed by Brutus and Cassius: the former of whom he had refused to oblige with a promise of the consulship, and the latter he had disgusted, by putting him off to another time. They had even drawn into their bloody design Decimus Brutus, and Caius Trebonius, the most intimate of all his acquaintances, men who had been raised to the highest dignity by the success of his party, and several others of great note. A strong jealousy had been excited against him by the conduct of his colleague in the consulship, Marc Anthony, who was always ready for every daring act; for, during the festival of Pan, as Cæsar sat in the rostrum,

Anthony

Anthony offered to put the badge of royalty BOOK
II. on his head : Cæsar pushed it away, but in such a manner, as did not indicate any displeasure.

LVII. The issue proved that the advice of Hirtius and Pansa was commendable; for they had always warned Cæsar, to retain the sovereign power by arms, as by arms he had acquired it: but he constantly declared, that he would rather die than live an object of terror. Thus, while he expected to meet the same clemency that he had shewn to others, he was cut off by ungrateful men. The immortal gods, indeed, had given very many presages, and signs, of the approaching danger; for the aruspices had forewarned him carefully to beware of the ides of March. His wife Calpurnia, terrified by a vision in the night, besought him to stay at home that day; and a note was given to him containing an account of the conspiracy, which he did not read. But the operations of fate are surely unavoidable: when it has resolved to reverse a man's fortune, it first confounds his counsels.

BOOK **LVIII.** Brutus and Cassius at the time they perpetrated this deed were prætors of the year, and Decimus Brutus consul elect. These, with the body of the conspirators, attended by a band of gladiators belonging to Decimus Brutus, seized on the capitol. On this Marc Anthony the consul convened the senate. Cassius had proposed, that Anthony should be killed along with Cæsar, and that Cæsar's will should be annulled; but this was overruled by Brutus, who insisted that the citizens ought to seek no more than the blood of the tyrant: for so he called Cæsar, to palliate his own conduct. In the mean time, Dolabella, whom Cæsar had destined his successor in the consulship, laid hold on the fasces, and badges of that office. And now Anthony, as wishing to preserve peace, sent his own sons into the capitol as hostages, and pledged his faith to the murderers of Cæsar, that they might come down with safety. On this the senate followed the example of that celebrated decree of the Athenians mentioned by Cicero, enacting a general oblivion of all things past.

LIX. Then Cæsar's will was opened, in which ne adopted Cneius Octavius, grandson of

of his sister Julia, of whose origin, though ~~BOOK~~
he himself has spoken before me, yet I must ~~BOOK~~
say a few words. Cneius Octavius was born
of a family, which, though not patrician, was
highly distinguished in the equestrian rank.
He possessed a sound understanding and a
virtuous disposition; his conduct was full of
probity, and his wealth was great. Among
candidates of the highest distinction, he was
elected *prætor* in the first place; and this ho-
nourable promotion gained him *Atia*, daughter
of Julia, in marriage. On the expiration of
his *prætorship*, the lots gave him the province
of Macedonia, where he was honoured with
the title of *Imperator*; and on his way home
to sue for the *consulship* he died, leaving a
son, who was under the age of manhood.
This youth, who was brought up in the house
of his stepfather Philip, *Caius Cæsar* loved as
if he were his own son. At the age of eight-
teen, during the war in Spain, he joined his
uncle there, who thenceforth made him his
constant companion; not suffering him to
use any other lodging, or to travel in any
other carriage than his own; and, while he
was yet a boy, honoured him with the office of
pontiff. On the restoration of peace after
the civil wars, in order to improve the young
man's

BOOK man's excellent capacity by a liberal education.
II. he sent him to Apollonia to study; and intended to give him a post in the army, which he designed to lead soon against the Getans, and afterwards against the Parthians. At the time when he was informed of the murder of his uncle, he received an offer from the centurions of the legions in that neighbourhood of their support, and that of the troops; which Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him not to reject. As he was hastening to Rome, he found at Brundusium full accounts of the fall of Cæsar, and of his will. On his approach to the city, he was met by immense crowds of his friends; and when he was entering the gate, the orb of the sun over his head was seen regularly curved into a circular form, and coloured like a rainbow, as if setting a crown on the head of a man who was soon to become so great.

LX. His mother Atia and his step-father Philip were of opinion, that he should not assume the name of Cæsar, as it might excite the jealousy of the public; but the propitious fates of the state, and of the world, claimed the founder and preserver of the Roman

Roman nation. His celestial mind accordingly spurned human counsels, determined to pursue the loftiest designs with danger rather than humble ones with safety; and chose to follow the direction of an uncle, and that uncle Cæsar, in preference to that of a step-father; for it would be impious, he said, after Cæsar had judged him worthy of that name, to appear in his own eyes unworthy. His first reception by the consul Anthony was full of haughtiness; which, however, was not the effect of contempt, but of fear; and it was with difficulty that he gained admittance into Pompey's gardens, and an opportunity of conversing with him. Anthony soon after began to spread wicked insinuations that Octavius was plotting against him; the falsehood of which was detected to his utter disgrace. The madness of the consuls Anthony and Dolabella soon carried its violence to open acts of abominable tyranny. The sum of seventy millions of sesterces, deposited by Caius Cæsar in the temple of Ops, was seized by Anthony, under colour of counterfeit and evidently forged clauses, that he had inserted in Cæsar's registry of his intentions. Every kind of business had a price fixed on it; for the consul set the common-wealth

BOOK wealth to sale. He even resolved to seize on
II. the province of Gaul, which had been decreed
to Decimus Brutus consul elect; while Do-
labella allotted the provinces beyond sea to
himself. Between parties so discordant in
their natures, and so opposite in their views,
mutual hatred continually increased; and
daily attempts were made on young Cneius
Cæsar, through the machinations of An-
thony.

LXI. The state crushed under the tyranny
of Anthony lost all vigour: every man felt
indignation and grief, but none had power to
make resistance; when Cneius Cæsar, in the
beginning of his nineteenth year, by his
wonderful exertions, and accomplishment of
the most important purposes, displayed a
greater spirit than the senate in support of
the republic. He called out his father's ve-
terans first from Calatia, and then from Ca-
silinum; and their example was followed by
others, who came together in such numbers
as quickly formed a regular army; and when
Anthony met the troops, which he had or-
dered to come from the foreign provinces to
Brundusium, the Martian and the fourth
legions having learned the will of the senate,
and

and the abilities of Cæsar took up their ~~BOOK~~^{II} standards, and marched to join him. After honouring him with an equestrian statue, which at this day stands on the rostrum, and testifies his age by its inscription, a compliment which, during three hundred years, was paid to none but Lucius Sulla, Cneius Pompey, and Cneius Cæsar, the senate ordered him, in quality of proprætor, together with the consuls elect, Hirtius and Pansa, to make war on Anthony. This charge, he in his twentieth year executed with the greatest bravery in the neighbourhood of Mutina. Decimus Brutus was relieved from a siege; and Anthony was forced to quit Italy in a shameful and solitary flight: but one of the consuls fell in the field, and the other died of a wound a few days after.

LXII. Before Anthony was obliged to fly, the senate, influenced principally by the arguments of Cicero, decreed every thing most honourable to Cæsar and his army; but, as soon as their fears were removed, their real disposition discovered itself, and their favour to Pompey's party returned. They decreed to Brutus and Cassius those provinces which they had already seized, without any authority

BOOK ^{IL} rity from the senate, commended those who furnished them with troops, and committed to their direction all the foreign settlements. For Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius, at one time fearing the arms of Anthony, at another counterfeiting fear in order to increase the ill will of the public towards him, had published declarations, that they would willingly live even all their lives in exile, if that would procure harmony in the republic; that they would never afford occasion for a civil war, but were fully satisfied with the honour which they enjoyed in the consciousness of what they had done; after which, with determined and similar intentions, leaving Rome and Italy, they had, without any public commission, possessed themselves of the provinces and armies; and pretending that wherever they were, there was the commonwealth, had received from people willing enough to gratify them, the sums of money which used to be transmitted to Rome from the foreign provinces by the questors. All these particulars were recited and approved in decrees of the senate. They even voted a triumph to Decimus Brutus, though he owed his life to the aid of another. The bodies of Hirtius and Pansa were honoured

with a funeral at the public expence. So far BOOK
were they from taking any notice of Cæsar, II.
that the lieutenant-generals sent to his army
were directed to remove him out of the way,
when they gave orders to the troops. But
the army was not as ungrateful as the senate ;
for, though Cæsar bore the affront in silence,
the soldiers refused to listen to any directions
in the absence of their general. It was at
this time that Cicero, out of his rooted love
of Pompey's party, gave his opinion, that
Cæsar was “ laudandus et tollendus ;” saying
one thing while he wished that another should
be understood.

LXIII. Meanwhile Anthony, having fled
across the Alps, met a rejection of his propo-
sals in a conference with Lepidus, who had
been clandestinely made chief pontiff, in the
room of Caius Cæsar, and though appointed
to the government of Spain, still delayed in
Gaul. Afterwards Anthony came frequently
into the view of the soldiers ; and they, con-
sidering every commander preferable to Le-
pidus, and Anthony, when sober, to many
others, broke down the rampart on the rear
of the camp, and gave him admission : but
while he held the entire direction of affairs,
he

BOOK II. he still yielded to Lentulus the title of commander. Before he entered the camp, Juventius Laterensis, who maintained consistency in his life and death, having earnestly dissuaded Lepidus from joining Anthony, who had been proclaimed a rebel, and finding his counsel disregarded, ran himself through with his sword. Plancus, according to his usual duplicity, after long debating in his mind which party he should follow, and with much difficulty forming a resolution, supported for some time Decimus Brutus, consul elect, his own colleague, boasting of his merit therein in letters to the senate, and soon after betrayed him. However, Asinius Pollio was stedfast in his purpose, faithful to the Julian party, and adverse to that of Pompey. Both of these made over their troops to Anthony.

LXIV. Decimus Brutus was first deserted by Plancus, and then endangered by his plots. Seeing his troops gradually forsaking him, he betook himself to flight, but was slain by some of Anthony's emissaries, in the house of a friend, a nobleman named Camelus, meeting thus the punishment justly due to his behaviour to Caius Cæsar, to whom

whom he was under the greatest obligations. B O O K
For, though he had been the most intimate II.
of all his friends, he became his murderer,
and threw on his benefactor the jealousy at-
tendant on that fortune of which he had
reaped the benefit. He thought it just that
he should retain the favours bestowed by
Cæsar, and that Cæsar, the donor of them,
should perish. It was during these times
that Marcus Tullius, in continual harangues,
branded the memory of Anthony with eter-
nal infamy. He, indeed, did this in splendid
language, but Canutius, a tribune, constantly
railed at Anthony with virulent abuse. Their
defence of liberty cost both of them their
lives; for as the proscription commenced
with the blood of the tribune, so it ended
with the death of Cicero, when even An-
thony was satiated. Lepidus was then de-
clared an enemy by the senate, as Anthony
had been before.

LXV. Then began a correspondence by
letter between Lepidus, Cæsar, and Anthony.
Hints were thrown out of an accommodation,
while Anthony frequently reminded Cæsar
how hostile to him Pompey's party was, and to
what a height it had already arisen, how zea-

BOOK I usually Cicero laboured to exalt Brutus and
II. Cassius, giving warning that if he, Cæsar, scorning to associate with him, he would join his power to that of Brutus and Cassius, who were already at the head of seventeen legions; at the same time remarking, that Cæsar was under stronger obligations to revenge a father than he to revenge a friend. On this a league of partnership in power was concluded; and in compliance with the advice and entreaties of the armies, an affinity was contracted between Anthony and Cæsar, the step-daughter of the former being betrothed to the latter. Cæsar entered on the consulship with Quintus Pidius, on the day before he completed his twentieth year, on the tenth of the calends of October, seven hundred and nine years after the building of the city, and seventy-two before the beginning of yours, Marcus Vinicius. This year saw Ventidius assume the consular robe, immediately after wearing the prætorian, in that city through which he had been led in triumph among other Picenian prisoners. He likewise triumphed afterwards.

LXVI. Anthony and Lepidus having been voted enemies, as above mentioned, were enraged

faged to a degree of fury ; and while both ~~BOOK~~
were better pleased at hearing what they had ~~BOOK~~^{II.}
suffered, than what they had deserved, they,
in spite of Cæsar's opposition, which was
vain against the two, revived the horrid prac-
tice of proscription, on the model introduced
by Sulla. Nothing reflects more disgrace on
that period, than, either Cæsar being forced
to proscribe any person, or Cicero being
proscribed by him, and the advocate of the
public being cut off by the villainy of An-
thony ; while none took any pains for the
safety of that man, who had spent so many
years in guarding the state, and seeking the
safety of its citizens. But you have gained
nothing, Marc Anthony, (for the indignation
bursting from my mind and heart, compels
me to exceed the bounds of this work,) you
have gained nothing, I say, by paying the
hire for closing those almost heavenly
lips, for instigating ruffians, in fine, to murder
a man, once so great as a consul, and the
preserver of the commonwealth. You ra-
vished from Marcus Cicero a life of trouble
and feeble old age ; a being less desirable un-
der your direction of affairs, than death. But,
of his fame, and the glory of his actions and
writings, you have not despoiled him : on the

BOOK contrary, you have enhanced them. He
II. lives, and will live in the memory of all succeeding ages. And as long as this body of the universe, whether framed by chance, or by wisdom, or by whatever means, which he, almost alone of the Romans saw in his mind, comprehended in his understanding, and illustrated by his eloquence, shall continue to exist, it will carry the praise of Cicero its companion in duration. All posterity will admire his writings against you, and execrate your proceedings against him ; and sooner shall the race of man fail in the world, than his fame decay.

LXVII. The events of this whole period can never be sufficiently deplored ; much less can they be recounted. One thing demands observation, that the proscribed experienced the utmost fidelity in their wives, a moderate share of it in their freedmen, a little in their slaves, but none in their sons. Yet men endure delay of hope, on whatever grounds it is conceived. That nothing, however, should be left inviolate, or without incitement to acts of wickedness, Anthony proscribed his uncle Lucius Cæsar, and Lepidus his brother Paullus. Plancus too had interest

interest enough to procure the like sentence BOOK
 in regard to his brother Plotius Plancus. II.
 Therefore among the jests of the soldiers, who
 followed the chariots of Lepidus and Plan-
 cus, amidst the curses of their countrymen,
 they threw out this expression, “ The consuls
 “ triumph over Germans, (brothers,) not over
 “ Gauls.”

LXVIII. Let us here relate a transaction
 which was passed over in its proper place ;
 for the general character of the man does
 not allow a shade to be cast over his conduct.
 While Cæsar was deciding by arms the fate
 of the empire at Pharsalia, Marcus Cælius, a
 man nearly resembling Curio in spirit and elo-
 quence, but his superior in both, and not less
 ingeniously wicked, proposed in his prætor-
 ship, as a moderate relief could not save him,
 for his property was in a ruinous state, an
 abolition of debts ; nor could the authority
 of the consuls and senate deter him from his
 purpose. He even called home Annius Milo,
 who was incensed against the Julian party,
 because he had not obtained a repeal of his
 banishment, and endeavoured to raise a sedi-
 tion in the city, and secretly stir up war in
 the country ; but by the directions of the
 senate,

BOOK senate, he was first banished, and soon after
II. crushed by the arms of the consuls near
Thurii. Ill fortune attended Milo in a like
attempt; for while he was besieging Compsa
in Hirpinia, he was killed by a stroke of a
stone, thus expiating the guilt of his conduct
toward Publius Clodius, and toward his coun-
try, against which he was waging war, so that
this man may rather be called rash than brave.
Since I revert to some things omitted, let
me observe, that Marullus Epidius and
Flavius Cæsetius, plebeian tribunes, having
used intemperate and unseasonable liberties
in prejudice of Cneius Cæsar, while they
charged him with aspiring to royalty, were
very near feeling the force of absolute power.
Yet, though the prince was often provoked,
his anger ended in this, that, satisfied with a
censorial sentence of disgrace, instead of the
punishment which a dictator might inflict,
he banished them from the state, and de-
clared, that he was very unhappy, in finding
himself obliged either to depart from his
nature, or lower his dignity. But I must re-
turn to my course.

LXIX. In Asia, Dolabella had by a piece
of fraud circumvented Caius Trebonius, a
consular,

consular, put himself into his place, and ~~BOOK~~
 slain him at Smyrna: a man most ungrateful ^{II.}
 for the kindnesses of Cæsar, and an accom-
 plice in the murder of him by whom he had
 been raised to the dignity of consul. In
 Syria, Caius Cassius, having received some
 legions from Statius Marcus and Crispus
 Marcius, men of prætorian rank, and at the
 head of a very powerful force, shut up Dol-
 bella in Laodicea; for he, finding Asia
 pre-occupied, had proceeded into Syria.
 Having taken the town, he put him to death,
 while Dolabella, with spirit enough, held out
 his neck to the stroke of his slave. Cassius
 by these means acquired the command of ten
 legions in that quarter. In Macedonia,
 Marcus Brutus drew over to his side the
 legions of Caius Anthony, brother of Marc
 Anthony, and those of Vatinus, near Dyr-
 racchium, who chose to join him. Anthony
 he attached with arms. Vatinus was over-
 whelmed by the dignity of his character; for
 as Brutus was reckoned preferable to any
 leader of the times, so Vatinus was consi-
 dered as inferior to them all. In this man-
 deformity of person vied with depravity of
 disposition, so that his soul seemed lodged
 in an habitation perfectly adapted to it. He

BOOK was seven legions strong. By the Pedian law,
II. introduced by the consul Pedius, Cæsar's colleague, all persons concerned in the murder of Cæsar his father, were ordered into banishment. Capito, my uncle, a man of senatorian rank, joined Agrippa in the prosecution of Caius Cassius. While those transactions passed in Italy, Cassius by brisk and very successful operations, got possession of Rhodes, a business of very great difficulty. Brutus subdued the Lycians, and then both marched their armies into Macedonia, while Cassius, on every occasion, in repugnance to his nature, exceeded even Brutus in clemency. You cannot find two men, whom fortune more propitiously attended, or, as if tired, earlier deserted, than Brutus and Cassius.

LXX. Then Cæsar and Anthony transported their armies to Macedonia, and near the city of Philippi came to a general engagement with Marcus Brutus and Cassius. The wing commanded by Brutus drove the enemy from the field, and took Cæsar's camp. For Cæsar himself, though in a very infirm state of health, performed the duties of a commander; notwithstanding his physician,

cian, Artorius, terrified certainly by a threatening dream, entreated him not to remain in camp. But the wing which Cassius commanded, was routed with great slaughter, and retired to higher ground. Then Cassius, judging of his colleague's success by his own situation, sent a veteran, with orders to bring him an account, who were those coming towards him in a numerous body. This was not executed with sufficient expedition, for the band of men marching hastily up was now at hand; and by reason of the dust, neither their faces nor their colours could be distinguished: when Cassius, supposing them to be enemies rushing on him, covered his head with his robe, and intrepidly held out his extended neck to his freedman. The head of Cassius had fallen when the veteran returned with intelligence, that Brutus was victorious; and he, seeing the body of his commander lying prostrate, exclaimed, "as my tardiness caused his death, I will follow him;" and then fell on his sword. In a few days after, Brutus engaged the enemy again, was defeated, and, flying, withdrew to an hill, where he prevailed on Strato of Ægeum, an intimate friend, to lend him his hand in effecting his death. Then raising his left arm

BOOK ^{II} arm over his head, and holding the point of his sword in his right hand, he fixed it on his left pap, the very spot where the heart beats, and thrusting himself against the sword, he was transfixed by the one push and expired. Immediately Messala, a young man of shining character, who, next to Brutus and Cassius, possessed the most powerful influence of any in the camp, though urged by many to assume the chief command, yet resolved to be indebted for safety to Cæsar's kindness, rather than to try any farther the chance of arms. Neither did any circumstance attending his victories afford greater joy to Cæsar, than the saving of this Corvinus, nor was there ever an instance of greater gratitude, or more affectionate attachment, than he showed in return. In no other war was more blood of illustrious men spilled. In this fell the son of Cato. The same fate carried off Lucullus and Hortensius, sons of the most eminent men in the state. Varro, when ready to die, foretold with great freedom, in mockery of Anthony, several circumstances respecting his death, which were worthy of him, and which did take place. Livius Drusus, father of Julia Augusta, and Quintilius Varus, did not even try the mercy of

of the enemy: but the former slew himself BOOK
in his tent; and Varus, after decking himself II.
with all the ornaments of his honours, was
slain by the hand of a freedman, whom he
compelled to perform the deed.

LXXII. In this manner did the will of fortune put an end to the party of Marcus Brutus, when he was in his thirty-seventh year, after his mind had been depraved so far, as to become fit for the business of that day, which, by the audacious temerity of one act, cancelled all his virtues. Cassius was as much the better commander, as Brutus was the better man. Of the two, you would rather wish to have Brutus your friend: as an enemy, you would stand in more fear of Cassius. One possessed greater ability, the other, greater virtue. If these men had met success, as far as it was more advantageous to the commonwealth to have Cæsar its prince, rather than Anthony, so far would it have been better to have Brutus than Cassius. Cneius Domitius, father of Lucius Domitius, whom we lately saw, and who was a man of very eminent and distinguished virtue, and grandfather of the present very illustrious youth of the same name, seized several ships, and with a numerous attendance of men who chose

BOOK ^{II.} chose to be guided by him, committed himself to flight and fortune, looking for no other leader of the party than himself. Statius Murcus, who commanded a fleet, and had the charge of guarding the sea, deserted with a great part of the troops and ships entrusted to him, and joined Sextus Pompey, son of Cneius the Great; who, returning from Spain, had by force gained possession of Sicily. The proscribed, who had withdrawn from immediate danger, flocked to him from the camp of Brutus, from Italy, and from various parts of the world; for to those who had no settled course to follow, any leader appeared sufficient. Fortune did not give them an option, but pointed out a refuge, and when people are avoiding a deadly tempest, any anchoring-place serves as an harbour.

LXXXIII. Sextus was quite uninformed, and in his language barbarous; yet in exertion vigorous, in action prompt, in judgment precipitate, in fidelity the very reverse of his father, the freedman of his own freedmen, and slave of his slaves; calumniating men of dignity, himself subservient to the meanest. After Anthony's flight from Mutina, at the same time when the transmarine provinces were decreed to Brutus and Cassius, the senate,

senate, which still consisted almost entirely B O O K
of Pompey's partizans, recalled this Pompey II.
from Spain, where Asinius Pollio the proprætor
had waged war against him with much ho-
nour; restored to him his father's property,
and gave him the command of the sea-coast.
Having possessed himself of Sicily, as above
mentioned, he by receiving slaves and vag-
bonds into his army filled up the compliment
of many legions; and by means of Menas and
Menecrates, two of his father's freedmen
who commanded his fleet, infested the sea
with piracies and rapine; and made use of
the plunder to support himself and his fol-
lowers, without being ashamed to disturb
with the villanies of pirates those seas which
had been cleared of them by the wisdom and
valour of his father.

LXXIV. The party of Brutus and Cassius
being crushed, Anthony staid behind, for the
purpose of settling the foreign provinces, and
Cæsar returned to Italy, which he found in
a much more turbulent state than he had
expected. For the consul Lucius Anthony,
a sharer of all his brother's vices, but desti-
tute of the virtues which sometimes appeared
in Marcus, had collected a large army, by
frequently inveighing against Cæsar in the
hearing

BOOK hearing of the veterans, and at other times
 II. inciting those to arms, who had not been included in the distribution of farms and the nomination of colonists. On the other side, Fulvia the wife of Anthony, in whom there was nothing feminine but the form, threw every thing into confusion and tumult. She chose Præneste as the seat of war. Anthony, forced to give way in every quarter to Cæsar's superior strength, retired to Perusia; while Plancus, a favourer of his party, rather held out hope of assistance than really gave him any. Cæsar, pursuing his good fortune, and the dictates of his courage, took Perusia, and dismissed Anthony unhurt. The Perusians suffered severely, rather through the rage of the soldiers than the will of their commander. The city was burnt; but this was occasioned by one of the principal inhabitants, called Macedonicus, who, after setting fire to his house and effects, stabbed himself, and fell amid the flames.

LXXV. At the same time, violent disturbances broke out in Campania, fomented under pretence of patronizing those who had lost their lands, by Tiberius Claudius Nero, who had been prætor, and was then pontiff, the father of Tiberius Cæsar, a man of great
 II. spirit,

spirit, learning, and capacity ; but this insur- BOOK
II.
rection was quelled by the arrival of Cæsar.
How very wonderful are the changes of
fortune, and the uncertain vicissitudes
of human affairs ! Ought not every man
either to hope, or fear, a change of present
circumstances, or events, contrary to his ex-
pectations ? Livia, the daughter of Drusus
Claudianus, a man of the highest distinction
and courage,—in birth, virtue, and beauty,
the most eminent of Roman ladies, whom
we afterwards saw the wife of Augustus,
and after his translation to the gods, his
priestess, and daughter ; now flying from
the troops of Cæsar, who was soon to be
her consort ; carrying in her bosom a child
scarcely two years old, the present Tibe-
rius Cæsar, the champion of the Roman em-
pire ; passing through unfrequented roads, to
avoid the swords of the military ; accompa-
nied by a single attendant, that her flight
might the more easily be concealed ;—made
her way to the sea, and, with her husband
Nero, sailed over to Sicily.

LXXVI. I will not defraud my own grand-
father of a testimony which I would pay to a
stranger. Caius Velleius, then, had been
chosen by Cneius Pompey, in the most ho-
nourable

BOOK II.
nourable place, among the three hundred and sixty judges ; had been præfect of artificers under him, Marcus Brutus, and Tiberius Nero, and was a man inferior to none. He had supported the party of Nero, for he was his most intimate friend ; and being in Campania, when Nero left Naples, since he could not accompany him, being unwieldy through age and corpulency, he slew himself with his sword. Cæsar suffered Fulvia to depart from Italy in safety, and Plancus to accompany her in her flight. Asinius Pollio, with seven legions, had long retained Venetia under subjection to Anthony ; and performed many and brilliant exploits at Altinum, and in other parts of that country. As he was marching now toward Anthony, he found Domitius, who, as we mentioned before, on the death of Brutus quitted his camp, still acting separately, and at the head of a fleet of his own. He so far enticed him by his representations and solemn assurances, as to prevail on him to join Anthony : by which proceeding, as any equitable judge must allow, Pollio conferred as great advantages on Anthony as Anthony did on him. Anthony's coming into Italy soon after, and Cæsar's preparations to oppose him, excited appreh-

apprehensions of war; but a peaceable accommodation was effected near Brundusium.

BOOK
II.
About this time, the wicked schemes of Salvinius Rufus were detected. This man, born of the most obscure parentage, was not satisfied with having received the highest honours, with being the next after Cneius Pompey and Cæsar, and having been raised from equestrian rank to the consulship. He would mount to such an height, as to see both Cæsar and the commonwealth beneath him.

LXXVII. Then, in consequence of the general expostulations of the people who were sorely distressed by a scarcity of provisions occasioned by the depredations committed at sea, a peace was likewise concluded with Pompey at Misenum. Entertaining Cæsar and Anthony on board his ship, he observed with some humour, that he was giving a supper in his own *carinæ*, alluding to the name of the street in which stood his father's house, then occupied by Anthony. In this treaty of peace was a clause that Sicily and Achaia should be ceded to Pompey, but his restless mind could not be long content: the only advantage that his coming produced to his country was, that he stipulated for the

L

recep-

BOOK reception and safety of all the proscribed,
II. and others who, for various reasons, had taken refuge with him. This article restored to the republic, among other illustrious men, Claudius Nero, Marcus Silanus, Sentius Saturninus, Aruntius, and Titius. Statius Murcus, who, by joining Pompey with his famous fleet, had doubled his strength, was loaded by him with false accusations, and put to death in Sicily; because Menas and Menebrates scorned to have such a man their colleague in commission.

LXXVIII. At this period of time, Marc Anthony married Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Pompey returned to Sicily, Anthony to the transmarine provinces, which Labienus had disturbed with violent commotions. For he had gone from the camp of Brutus to the Parthians, brought an army of them into Syria, and slain Anthony's deputy: but, through the courage and good conduct of Ventidius, he was cut off, together with the Parthian troops, and their king's son Pacorus, a young Prince universally celebrated. Meanwhile, lest, in such quiet times, idleness, the greatest foe to discipline, might de-

baach the soldiery, Cæsar made frequent ~~BOOK~~^{II.} incursions into Illyricum and Dalmatia: and by inuring the men to hardships, and training them in action, confirmed their strength. At this time Domitius Calvinus, being, on the expiration of his consulship, made governor of Spain, gave an instance of strict discipline, comparable to the practice of the antients: for he put to death by the bastinade a centurion of the first rank, named Vibillius, for having shamefully fled from battle.

LXXIX. Pompey's reputation and his fleet increased daily, wherefore Cæsar resolved to take on himself the task of conducting the war against him. The charge of building ships, collecting soldiers and seamen, and training them in naval contests and evolutions, was committed to Marcus Agrippa, a man of distinguished courage, whom no toil, watching, or danger, could overcome, who knew perfectly well how to obey, that is, to obey one, others, he certainly wished to command: in every case averse from delay, he made action instantly follow resolve. He built a very fine fleet in the Avernian, and Lucrine lakes, and by daily practice brought

BOOK both soldiers and seamen to a thorough
II. knowlege of military and naval business.
With this fleet, Cæsar commenced hostilities
against Pompey, and Sicily, having first with
omens, propitious to the state, espoused
Livia, who was given to him in marriage by
Nero her former husband. But invincible
as he was by human power, he now received
a severe shock from fortune; for a storm
arising from the south-west shattered and
dispersed the greater part of his fleet, near
Velia and the promontory of Palinurus.
This event retarded the prosecution of the
war, which was afterwards attended with un-
certain success on Cæsar's part, and some-
times with danger. For his fleet suffered
severely in a second storm at the same
place, and although in the first naval engage-
ment at Mylæ, in which Agrippa com-
manded, the issue was favourable, yet in
consequence of the unexpected arrival of the
enemy's fleet, a heavy loss was sustained at
Tauromenium under Cæsar's eye, nor was
his person free from danger. The legions,
which had been landed with Cornificius a
lieutenant-general of his, were nearly sur-
prised by Pompey. But the fortune of this
hazardous juncture was amended by steady
courage.

courage. In a general engagement at sea, ^{BOOK} ~~II~~ Pompey lost nearly all his ships, and was forced to fly to Asia. There, by order of Marc Anthony, to whom he applied for succour, while he acted a confused part between the general and the suppliant, at one time supporting his dignity, at another begging his life, he was slain by Titius. The general detestation which this man incurred by such a deed continued so strong, that when he was afterwards celebrating games in Pompey's theatre, he was driven out by the execrations of the people from an exhibition bestowed by himself.

LXXX. While Cæsar was employed in the war against Pompey, he had called Lepidus from Africa, with twelve legions, which were half complete. This man, the vainest that ever existed, who merited not by any good quality such a long indulgence of fortune, had been joined by the troops of Pompey, because he lay the nearest to them, but they acted under the authority and good faith of Cæsar, not under his. Inflated with vanity by the number of the legions exceeding twenty, he proceeded to such a degree of madness, that, though he had been merely

BOOK an useless attendant on another's victory,
II. which he had long retarded, by dissenting from Cæsar's plans, and constantly urging measures different from those recommended by others, yet he claimed the whole credit of the victory as his own, and even had the assurance to send notice to Cæsar, that he should leave Sicily. Neither the Scipios, nor any of the ancient Roman commanders, ever attempted or executed a more resolute act than was then performed by Cæsar. For, though he was unarmed, and in his cloak, carrying with him nothing but his name, he went into the camp of Lepidus, and avoiding the weapons which were thrown at him by the order of that abandoned man, one of which pierced through his cloak, he boldly seized the eagle of a legion. Then you might discern the difference between the commanders. The armed troops followed the unarmed leader, and in the tenth year after Lepidus had arrived at a height of power nowise correspondent to his conduct, being deserted by fortune, and by his troops, he wrapped himself up in a black cloak, and passing unobserved among the hindmost of the crowd that flocked about Cæsar, prostrated himself at his feet. He was permitted

mitted to retain life, and the disposal of his BOOK
own property, but was stripped of the dig-
II.
nity which he was not qualified to support.

LXXXI. A sudden mutiny then broke out in the army: for when troops consider their own great numbers, they are apt to revolt from discipline, and to scorn to ask what they think themselves able to enforce; but it was soon composed, partly by some able exertions, and partly by the liberality of the prince. A grand addition was made at this time to the colony of Capua. The rents of the lands were the property of the Campanians, and in exchange for these much larger were assigned to them in the island of Crete, amounting to 1,200,000 sesterces: a promise was also given to them of the aquæduct, which, at this day, is an exceeding fine ornament, conducive both to health, and to pleasure. Agrippa, for his singular services in this war, was rewarded with the distinction of a naval crown, an honour never before conferred on any Roman. Cæsar then returned victorious to Rome, and a great number of houses having been purchased by his agents, for the purpose of enlarging his own, he declared that he intended them for public

BOOK uses, and announced his purpose of building
II. a temple to Apollo, surrounded with porticoes,
and which he afterwards erected with extra-
ordinary magnificence.

LXXXII. During this summer, wherein
Cæsar's operations against Lepidus in Sicily
were crowned with success, Fortune directed
her operations in the east to his prejudice,
and in some measure to that of the republic
in general. For Anthony at the head of
thirteen legions entered Armenia and Media,
marching through those countries against
the Parthians, whose king met him in the
field. At first he lost two legions, with all
their baggage and engines, with Statianus a
lieutenant-general. He afterwards, and with
the hazard of the whole army, brought him-
self into the most perilous situations; after
losing no less than a fourth part of his sol-
diers, he was saved by the advice and fide-
lity of a person, who was a captive, but a
Roman. This man had been made a pris-
oner when the army of Crassus was cut off,
but this change in his condition produced
none in his mind: he came by night to a
Roman outpost, and gave them warning
not to proceed by the road intended, but
to

to make their escape through a woody BOOK country. This proved the preservation of II. Marc Anthony and those legions, out of which, however, and the whole army, he lost, as we have said, one fourth part of the soldiers, one third of the servants and slaves, and of the baggage hardly any thing was saved. Yet Anthony called this flight of his, which barely saved his life, a victory. In the third year after, he made another expedition into Armenia, and having by insidious artifices imposed on its king Artavasdes, he threw him into chains, which, out of compliment, were made of gold. While the flame of his passion for Cleopatra blazed with daily increasing violence, and new multitudes continually resorted to him, of such men as acquire support by licentious compliances and flatteries, he determined to turn his arms against his country. He had before this issued orders, that he should be styled the new Father Bacchus, and had rode in a chariot through Alexandria as Father Bacchus, wearing a garland of ivy, and a crown of gold, with buskins on his legs, and a thyrsus in his hand.

LXXXIII. While he was making preparations for war, Plancus, being sharply rebuked by

BOOK by him on a discovery of some palpable robberies, deserted to Cæsar; which step proceeded not from a belief that he was choosing the right side, or from love of Cæsar or of the commonwealth, for to both he was ever a foe, but from his being infected with treason as a disorder. Before this, he had been the meanest flatterer of the Queen, more obsequious than any slave, the letter-carrier of Anthony, the prompter and actor of the vilest obscenities, venal to all men and for all purposes, and had at a feast represented Glaucus in a dance, being naked, and painted green, carrying on his head a circle of reeds, dragging a tail after him, and crawling on his knees. He afterwards construed the clemency of the conqueror into merit of his own, alleging that Cæsar shewed his approbation of his conduct by forgiving it. Titius soon followed the example of this uncle of his. This recent deserter, one day in the senate, charged the absent Anthony with many foul enormities, on which Coponius, a man of praetorian rank, and very respectable character, father-in-law of Publius Silius, observed with some humour, “ Surely Anthony “ did a great many things the day before you “ left him.”

LXXXIV. Then,

LXXXIV. Then, in the consulate of Cæsar ^{BOOK}
and Corvinus Messala, the decisive contest ^{II.}
was waged at Actium, where, long before the
engagement, it was easy to foresee, that
victory would attend the Julian party. On
this side, both the soldiers and the com-
mander were full of vigour; on that, every-
thing was feeble: on this, the seamen were
in full strength; on the other, they were
greatly reduced by want: on this, the ships
were moderate in size and active; on the
opposite, they were more formidable only
in appearance. From this side not a man de-
serted to Anthony; from the other, deserters
came daily to Cæsar. In the presence and
in the view of Anthony's fleet, Leucas was
stormed by Marcus Agrippa, Patræ was
taken, Corinth seized, and twice before the
final decision the enemy's fleet was worsted.
King Amyntas joining the better and more
profitable side, (as to Dellius, he only
followed in this war his usual practice,) and Cneius Domitius, a man highly esteemed,
and the only one of Anthony's party who
never addressed the Queen but by her name,
came over to Cæsar through great and im-
minent dangers.

LXXXV. At

BOOK LXXXV. At length arrived the day of
II. the grand dispute, when Cæsar and Anthony, with their fleets in line of battle, came to a general engagement ; one fighting for the preservation, the other for the destruction of the world. The right squadron of the Julian fleet was intrusted to Marcus Lurius, the left to Aruntius ; Agrippa had the command in chief of the whole. Of Cæsar, it might be said that he was present every where. The command of Anthony's fleet was given to Publicola and Sosius. Cæsar's army on the land was commanded by Taurus, Anthony's by Canidius. When the engagement began, every thing on one side was complete, the commander, the seamen, the soldiers ; on the other, nothing but the soldiers. Cleopatra first began the flight, and Anthony chose to accompany her, rather than remain with his men in battle. Thus a general, whose duty it had been to punish deserters, became a deserter of his own army. His men, though deprived of their chief, maintained the fight a long time with most determined resolution ; and many, even when they despaired of victory, continued it to death. Cæsar, although he could have conquered them with the sword, wished rather

rather to subdue them by words; and BOOK
II. calling aloud, and pointing, shewed them that Anthony had fled; asking them for whom, and against whom, they fought. At last, after a long struggle in favour of their absent leader, they were with difficulty prevailed on to lay down their arms, and yield the victory; and Cæsar granted them life and pardon more readily than they were persuaded to ask them of him. It was universally allowed, that the soldiers acted the part of an excellent commander, and the commander that of a most dastardly soldier. So that you can easily judge, whether, in case of success, he would have regulated his conduct by his own judgment, or by Cleopatra's, since by hers he was determined to fly. The army on land submitted in like manner, after Canidius had precipitately fled to Anthony.

LXXXVI. What blessings that day procured to the world, what an improvement it produced in the state of the public welfare, no man can attempt to recount in such a hasty narrative as this abridgment. The victory was attended with the greatest clemency: very few were put to death; and these were such

as

BOOK as would not deign to deprecate punishment.
II. From this lenity of the leader a judgment may be formed, of the limits which he would have prescribed to himself in success, had he been allowed, both in the beginning of his triumvirate and in the plains of Philippi. The faithful friendship of Aruntius, a man very remarkable for regularity of conduct, worked on Cæsar, who, after a long struggle with his mercy, preserved Sosius in safety. Let us not pass by the memorable behaviour and expression of Asinius Pollio. After the peace of Brundusium he staid at home in Italy; never saw the Queen, nor, after Anthony's mind was enervated by his passion for her, did he ever interfere in the business of his party. But on Cæsar's requesting that he would accompany him to the Actian war, he answered, " My services to Anthony are too great; his kindnesses to me too notorious; I will therefore withdraw myself from your dispute, and will be the prey of the conqueror."

LXXXVII. In the next year, Cæsar followed the Queen and Anthony to Alexandria, and brought the war to a final conclusion.

Anthony

Anthony killed himself courageously enough, ^{BOOK} so as to compensate by his death for many ^{II.} crimes of effeminacy. Cleopatra, eluding the vigilance of her guards, had an asp brought to her, and by its bite put an end to her life, without betraying any womanish fear. It reflected honour on Cæsar's success and his merciful disposition, that not one of those who bore arms against him was put to death by him. Decimus Brutus perished by the cruelty of Anthony; and the same Anthony, when Sextus Pompey was conquered by him, although he had pledged his honour to secure even his dignity, yet he bereft him of that and life together. Brutus and Cassius died voluntary deaths, without making trial of the disposition of the conquerors. The end of Anthony and Cleopatra we have now related. Canidius died in a more cowardly manner than was consonant to his frequent professions. Of the murderers of Cæsar, Cassius Parmensis was the last victim of vengeance, as Trebonius had been the first.

LXXXVIII. While Cæsar was employed in putting a period to the Actian and Alexandrian wars, Marcus Lepidus,—a young

BOOK young man whose person was more commendable than his mind, son of that Lepidus who had been triumvir for regulating the commonwealth, by Junia a sister of Brutus,— formed a plot to assassinate Cæsar, as soon as he should come home to Rome. The guardianship of the city was then under the direction of Cilnius Mæcenas, who was of equestrian rank, and of a splendid family. When any affair demanded vigilance, he was perfectly alert, provident, and judicious in acting; but when any relaxation from business could be obtained, he indulged himself in indolence and softness to an excess of effeminacy. He was no less beloved by Cæsar, than was Agrippa, but he was not so highly promoted: because through life, he was fully contented with the narrow purple: it was in his power to obtain equal preferment, but he did not equally desire it. On this occasion, making not the least stir, but dissembling his knowledge of the matter, he watched the proceedings of this hot-headed young man, and then crushing Lepidus with wonderful dispatch, and without any disturbance either of men or business, he stifled at its birth a design which would have rekindled the civil war with new violence; while

while the author met the punishment due BOOK
II. to his wicked purposes. Here we may produce an instance of conjugal affection parallel to that of Calpurnia wife of Antistius, whom we have mentioned above, — Servilia, the wife of Lepidus swallowed burning coals, and thus gained immortal fame in retribution for a premature death.

LXXXIX. Caesar then returned to Rome : but it is not within the compass of a complete history, much less of this brief sketch, to describe, as the subject deserves, the multitudes that poured out to welcome him ; the warmth of affection displayed by all men of all ages and ranks, or the magnificence of his triumphs and donations. There is no good which men can ask from the gods, — none that the gods can bestow on men, none that can be conceived in wishes, none that can render happiness complete, — which Augustus on his return did not realize to the state, to the Roman people, and to the world. The civil wars which had lasted twenty years were ended, foreign wars were suppressed, peace was recalled, the fury of arms every where laid asleep, energy was restored to the laws, authority to the courts of justice, and

BOOK II.
majesty to the senate ; the power of the magistrates was confined within its antient limits, only two prætors were appointed in addition to the former eight ; the old original form of the commonwealth was re-established ; culture was brought back to the lands, reverence to religion, security to men's persons, and to every man safe enjoyment of his property ; the laws received useful emendations ; wholesome new laws were introduced ; and the senate was chosen without harsh severity, though not without strictness. The principal men, who had enjoyed triumphs and the amplest honours, were enticed by the encouragement of the prince to add to the decorations of the city. Cæsar could only be prevailed on to accept of the consulship, in which office he was continued to the eleventh year, notwithstanding his many endeavours to prevent it : as to the dictatorship, though it was long and earnestly pressed on him by the people, he as steadfastly refused it. A recital of the wars waged under his command, of his victories productive of peace to every part of the world, and of his numerous works both in Italy and abroad, would give full employment to a writer, who dedicated the whole length of his life

life to that one business. Mindful of our ~~BOOK~~
declared purpose, we have laid before our ~~our~~
readers only a general view of his admi-
nistration.

XC. When the civil wars were composed, as we have said, and the members of the state, which had suffered laceration during such a long series of years, began to coalesce, Dalmatia having rebelled, was, in the two hundred and twentieth year from its first waging war, reduced to a complete acknowledgment of the Roman power. The Alps, remarkable for their numerous and barbarous nations, were entirely subdued. Spain, after much fighting with various success, was obliged to submit to a peace, partly by Cæsar himself, and partly by Agrippa, whom the friendship of the prince had raised to a third consulship, as it did afterwards to a share in the tribunician power. A Roman army commanded by Cneius Scipio, uncle of Africanus, was the first sent into that province, in the consulate of Scipio and Sempronius Longus, which was the first year of the second Punic war, two hundred and fifty from the present, and through a space of two hundred years, a contest attended with

BOOK II. much loss of blood on both sides, was maintained there in such a manner, that the Roman people lost whole armies with many generals, while the empire often incurred disgrace, and sometimes even danger. There the Scipios were beaten : there our ancestors were employed for twenty years in the disgraceful conflict with Viriathus, Rome being shaken by the terror of the Numantine war. There too was made the scandalous treaty of Quintus Pompey, and the more scandalous one of Mancinus, which the senate rescinded by delivering up that commander in an ignominious manner. That province caused the loss of many generals of consular and prætorian rank, and in the time of our fathers, raised Sertorius to such a height by the aid of its forces, that during five years it was impossible to judge whether the Romans or the Spaniards were the stronger in arms, or which nation would be subject to the other. This province, then, so extensive, so populous, and so fierce, Augustus Cæsar, about fifty years ago, reduced to such a perfect state of pacification, that the country which had never been free from most violent wars, was thenceforward under Caius Antistius, then under Publius Silius lieute-

lieutenant-general, and their successors, per B Q Q. Ki
fectly exempt from even petty disturbances. H.

XCI. While means were employed for the re-establishment of peace in the west, the King of the Parthians sent from the east to Augustus,—which surname was, on the proposition of Plancus conferred on him by an unanimous vote of the senate and people of Rome,—the Roman ensigns taken by Orodes, when Crassus was cut off, and those which his son Phraates had gained on defeating Anthony. Yet there were people discontented with this most happy state of affairs. Lucius Murena and Fannius Cæpion, men of different characters,—for the former, setting aside his present misconduct, might be reckoned a good man; the latter, even before this, had shewn himself one of the worst,—had formed a plot to assassinate Cæsar; but they were detected by the vigilance of the magistrates, and suffered from justice the fate which they had intended to inflict on another by violence. Soon after, a similar design was concerted by Rufus Egnatius, who, in every particular, was more like a gladiator than a senator. In the office of aedile he had acquired a considerable share of popularity,

BOOK which he had increased by occasionally extinguishing fires with the aid of his own servants; insomuch that, from that office he was elected *prætor*; and afterwards had the assurance to sue for the consulship, though he was conscious of being sunk in every kind of vice and infamy; nor was his property in better condition than his mind. This man, gaining a number of accomplices like himself, resolved to take Cæsar's life, thinking that he could not prosper while the Emperor lived; and this, though himself should die in consequence. For it is frequently the case, that a desperate man chooses to perish amidst public ruin, rather than to see his own particular affairs buried in destruction, or to undergo the same fate without attracting notice. But he was not more successful in keeping the secret, than the former conspirators: he was thrown into prison, and with his accomplices there met the death best suited to his life.

XCII. Let us not defraud of due commemoration the very meritorious conduct of an excellent man, Caius Sentius Saturninus, who was consul at this time. Cæsar was absent, being employed in regulating the affairs of Asia, and of the east, and dispensing

ing by his presence to every part of the B O O K
world the blessings of that peace, of which II.
he was the author. Sentius happened then
to be sole consul. Thus unsupported by
Cæsar's presence, he yet, beside other in-
stances of conduct conformable to the pri-
mitive practice of consuls, executed his
office with strictness and unshaken firmness:
such was his dragging into light the frauds of
the revenue farmers, punishing their avarice,
and replacing the public money in the trea-
sury, and, when presiding at the elections,
supporting the character of consul with ex-
traordinary propriety. Persons whom he
judged unworthy canvassing for the quæ-
storship, he forbade to declare themselves
candidates, and on their persisting in their
purpose, threatened to make them feel the
power of a consul, if they went down to the
field. Then when Egnatius, elated by his
popularity, conceived hopes, that as he had
advanced immediately from the office of ædile
to that of prætor, so he would from this
latter to the consulship; Caius ordered him to
relinquish his pretensions, and on his refusing
to comply, assured him with an oath, that
even if he should be elected by the votes of
the people, he would not proclaim him.

BOOK Such behaviour I think comparable to any of
II. the celebrated acts of the early consuls : but
such is our nature, that we more readily
bestow praise on actions that we hear of,
than on those which we see, and view the
things present with envy, the past with ve-
neration ; — thinking ourselves obscured by
the former, but instructed by the latter.

XCIII. It was universally supposed, that
in case of the demise of Cæsar, Marcus Mar-
cellus, son of his sister Octavia, would suc-
ceed to his power ; yet it was not believed,
that this event would take place, without
being impeded by Marcus Agrippa. But,
three years before the discovery of the plot
of Egnatius, about the time of the conspiracy
of Murena and Cæpio, fifty years from the
present, Marcellus died very young, after
having, in the office of ædile, exhibited
games with the greatest magnificence. He is
said to have possessed shining virtues, and
to have been happy in disposition and abili-
ties, and capable of filling the high station
for which he was educated. After his death,
Agrippa, who had gone to Asia under pre-
tence of acting as deputy to the prince, but,
as fame says, choosing to be out of the way
during

during the present state of affairs, on account of a private pique between him and ~~Marcellus~~ ^{BOOK} ^{II.} returned home and married Cæsar's daughter Julia, who had been the wife of Marcellus, a woman whose offspring promoted not her own or her country's happiness.

XCIV. During this period, Tiberius Claudius Nero, who, as we have said, was three years old when Livia daughter of Claudianus Drusus became the wife of Cæsar, being given in marriage by Nero her former husband; — a youth who had been virtuously educated, who possessed in the highest degree birth, beauty, dignity of mien, the best information, and the greatest capacity, and who from the beginning afforded hopes of his becoming the great man that he now is, and whose very look announced a prince. He began to act in a public character, being made quæstor in his nineteenth year: and under the direction of his stepfather took such judicious measures, both in Rome and at Ostia, to remedy the exorbitant price of provisions and the scarcity of corn, that his behaviour on that occasion gave clear indications of his future greatness. Not long after,

BOOK he was sent with an army to inspect and regulate the provinces in the east. There he displayed instances of every kind of virtue: and having marched his legions into Armenia, and reduced it under the power of the Roman people, he bestowed the kingdom on Artavasdes. Even the King of the Parthians, awed by the fame of his great character, sent his own sons hostages to Cæsar.

XCV. When Nero returned thence, Cæsar determined that he should try his abilities in supporting the weight of a difficult war, giving him, as an assistant in the business, his own brother Claudius Drusus, whom Livia bore in the house of Cæsar. These attacked the Rhætians and Vindelicians on different sides, and by the sieges of many cities and forts, and by some successful actions in the field, they completely subdued those nations, so very strongly protected by the nature of the country, difficult of access, and abounding in numbers, savagely fierce. This was effected with more danger than detriment on the side of the Roman troops, but with great loss on that of the enemy. Some time before this, the censorship of Plancus and Paullus was spent in quarrelling with each

each other, and produced neither honour to BOOK
themselves nor advantage to the public: for II.
one of them wanted a capacity, the other a
character befitting a censor. Paullus could
badly fill the office; Plancus ought to have
stood in dread of it: for he could not charge,
or hear others charge young men with any
crime, of which he in his old age was not
conscious.

XCVI. Soon after this died Agrippa, who
had ennobled his new family by many ho-
nours, and had advanced so far as to become
father-in-law to Nero, while the sons of the
latter, his grandsons, had been adopted by
the divine Augustus, who prefixed the names
Caius and Lucius to their own. This event
occasioned a closer connection between
Cæsar and Nero, for Julia daughter of the
former, who had been the wife of Agrippa,
was married to the latter. The war of Pan-
nonia, which had commenced in the con-
sulate of Agrippa and Marcus Vinicius your
grandfather, now raged with great fury, and
threatened Italy with imminent danger: in
this war, also, Nero held the command. The
tribes of the Pannonians, the nations of the
Dalmatians, the situations of the countries
and

BOOK and rivers, the numbers of their people and
II. the extent of their strength, the numerous
and most glorious victories gained in that
war by this consummate general, we shall
describe in another place. Let this work
conform to its rule. In consequence of this
success Nero enjoyed the honour of a
triumph.

XCVII. But while all things on this side
of the empire proceeded in a course of the
greatest prosperity, a severe loss was sustain-
ed in Germany, where the army was com-
manded by Marcus Lollius a lieutenant-ge-
neral, who was always more anxious to get
money than to act properly; and while he
carefully concealed his vices, was highly pro-
fligate. * * * The loss of the eagle of
the fifth legion called Caesar from the city
into Gaul. Then the burthen and manage-
ment of the German war was delegated to
Claudius Drusus the brother of Nero, a youth
of as many and as great virtues as can find
place in human nature, or be perfected by
cultivation, whose genius excelled equally in
the arts of war and in those of peace. His
sweet and engaging manners, his courteous
and unassuming demeanour, are said to have
been inimitable. In beauty of person he was
the

the next to his brother. But, when he had ^{BOOK} II. conquered a great part of Germany, after shedding a profusion of the blood of the inhabitants, the cruelty of the fates snatched him from the world. He was then in the consulship, and in the thirtieth year of his age. The business of the war devolved on Nero, who executed it with his usual valour and success; and, carrying his victorious arms over every part of Germany, without any loss of the troops committed to his charge, (a point in which this commander was always particularly careful,) he subdued it so effectually as to reduce it nearly to the state of a tributary province. In consequence, he enjoyed another triumph, and another consulship.

XCVIII. While these transactions passed in Pannonia and Germany, a furious war broke out in Thrace, where all the states of that nation arose in arms: but this was ended with success by the brave exertions of *Lucius Piso*, who is at present the most diligent and, at the same time, the mildest guardian of the city's safety. In quality of lieutenant to *Cæsar*, he carried on the war against them for three years; and partly by engagements in the field, partly by taking their towns, with great destruction on their

BOOK their side, he reduced those ferocious people
 II. to submission on the former terms of peace :
 by which means he restored security to Asia,
 and peace to Macedonia. Every one must
 think and allow that this man's character is
 a composition of vigour and gentleness, and
 that it is hard to find any person, either
 more passionately fond of ease, or more ready
 to undergo the fatigue of business, or to dis-
 patch what is requisite, without any ostenta-
 tion of activity.

XCIX. Tiberius Nero had now enjoyed
 two consulships, and as many triumphs, had
 been raised to an equality with Augustus
 in the partnership of the tribunician power,
 was the most eminent of all his coun-
 trymen, excepting one, and inferior to
 him, because he wished to be so; the
 greatest of commanders, the most renowned
 in fame and fortune; when, out of a surpris-
 ing, incredible, and unspeakable effort of
 affection, the causes of which were after-
 wards discovered, considering that Caius
 Cæsar had already assumed the manly gown,
 and that Lucius was now grown up to man-
 hood, and apprehending that his own splen-
 dour might obstruct the progress of the rising
 youths, he soon after this time, without dis-

closing the reason of his proceeding, request- B O O K
ed leave of absence from his father-in-law II.
and stepfather, that he might rest from a
continual course of labours. An account of
the sentiments of the people on this occasion,
of the feelings of individuals, of the tears
shed by every one on taking leave of this
great man, and how near his country was to
insisting on his stay, must be reserved for
my history at large. One thing must be
mentioned even in this hasty narration.
During seven years which he spent at
Rhodes, all proconsuls and ambassadors
going into the transmarine provinces waited
on him there with compliments, and always
lowered their fasces to this private person, if
such majesty was ever private, and acknow-
ledged his retirement more honourable than
their high employments.

C. The whole world felt the departure of
Nero from the guardianship of the city.
For the Parthians, renouncing the alliance of
Rome, seized Armenia; and Germany, when
the eyes of its conqueror were turned away,
resumed its arms. But in the city, in that
same year, (thirty from the present,) wherein
the divine Augustus, being consul with
Caninius

BOOK Caninius Gallus, on occasion of the dedication of a Temple of Mars, gratified the eyes and minds of the Roman people with the spectacles of a most magnificent shew of gladiators and a sea-fight ; a storm shocking to mention, and horrid to remember, burst on his own house. For his daughter Julia, utterly regardless of the dignity of her parent and husband, practised every thing scandalous in lust and luxury, that a woman can do or suffer, measuring her licence to sin by the grandeur of her situation, and judging every thing lawful, that gratified her humour. On this occasion Julius Antonius, who from being a conspicuous example of Cæsar's mercy became a violator of his house, inflicted on himself the punishment due to his guilt. On this man, after the overthrow of his father, Cæsar had conferred not only safety, but a priest's office, a prætor's and a consul's ; had honoured him with the government of provinces, and even admitted him to a very close affinity, giving him in marriage the daughter of his own sister. Then Quintius Crispinus, who covered exorbitant wickedness under a morose austerity of countenance, and Appius Claudius, and Sempronius Gracebus, and Scipio, and others of

of less note, men of both the higher orders, **BOOK**
suffered such punishment, as they would for **II.**
the debauching of any common person's wife;
though they had violated the daughter of
Cæsar, and wife of Nero. Julia was banished
to an island, and thus removed from the
sight of her country and her parents; yet
she was accompanied by her mother Scri-
bonia, who remained a voluntary sharer in
her exile.

CL. Not long after, Caius Cæsar having
first made a progress through other pro-
vinces to secure their tranquillity, was sent
to Syria, and on his way made a visit to
Tiberius Nero, paying every mark of respect
to him as to a superior. In the province his
conduct varied so much, that while many
parts of it merited praise, others were liable
to censure. He had an interview with the
King of the Parthians in an island of the
Euphrates, each being attended by equal
numbers. This grand and memorable spec-
tacle, of the Roman army standing on one
side, and the Parthian on the other, while the
most illustrious heads of the greatest empires
in the world held their meeting, I had the
good fortune to behold, soon after my enter-

N

ing

BOOK ^{II.} going into the army, being then a military tribune. This rank I attained, Marcus Vinicius, while serving under your father and Publius Silius in Thrace and Macedonia. Having afterwards seen Achaia, Asia, all the provinces in the east, and the mouth and both shores of the Pontic sea, I now receive much pleasure from the recollection of so many events, places, cities, and nations. First, the Parthian was entertained at a banquet by Caius, on our bank, then Caius by the king, on the bank opposite.

CIL. On this occasion, the Parthian made a discovery to Caesar of some schemes full of artifice and deceit, which had been formed by Marcus Lollius, whom Augustus had chosen director of the youth of his son ; and these were afterwards published by common fame. Whether his death, which followed in a few days, was fortuitous or voluntary I have not discovered : but the joy, which people felt on the occasion, was counterbalanced by their grief for the loss of Censorinus, who died soon after in the same province, a man formed by nature to captivate the affections of mankind. Caius then marched into Armenia, and at the beginning

had some success; but he was grievously ^{BOOK}
wounded by a person called Adduus in a con-
ference near Artigera, where he had exposed
himself inconsiderately; and as his body in
consequence became less active, so was his
mind less capable of benefitting the public.
Besides, he was surrounded by men, whose
adulatory conversation fomented his vices;
for flattery is always an attendant on high
station, and by these means he was so far
perverted, that he wished to spend his life in
the most retired and most distant corner of
the globe, rather than return to Rome.
However, after many struggles he consented,
and having reluctantly set out on his way
home, he fell sick and died at Limyra, a city
in Lycia. His brother Lucius Cæsar died a
year before at Marseilles, as he was going to
Spain.

CIII. But fortune, though she had with-
drawn the hopes entertained of those illus-
trious youths, had already restored to the
republic its own peculiar safeguard. For
before the death of either, in the consulate of
Publius Vinicius your father, Tiberius Nero
coming home from Rhodes, had filled his
country with incredible joy. Augustus Cæsar
did

BOOK did not hesitate long, to choose him as the
II. person conspicuously qualified for what he had
intended. Wherefore what he had purposed
after the death of Lucius, while Caius was
yet alive, but had been diverted from by the
earnest opposition of Nero, he, on the decease
of the two young men, determined to execute.
This was to constitute Nero his partner in the
tribunician power, though the latter used
many arguments against the measure, both at
home and in the senate. However, in the
consulate of *Ælius Catus* and *Sentius*, seven
hundred and fifty-four years after the building
of the city, twenty-seven from the present, on
the fifth of the calends of July, he adopted
him his son. The joy of that day, the con-
course of all ranks of men, the prayers offered
by people stretching their hands in a manner
to heaven, and the hope then conceived of
perpetual security, and of the eternal dura-
tion of the Roman empire, we shall scarcely
be able to delineate fully in our large work,
much less can we attempt to represent it here.
I only take the opportunity with pleasure of
mentioning how much and how universally
he was beloved. Then shone forth to parents
a certain hope of their children, to husbands
of their wives, to owners of their patrimony,
to

to all men, of safety, quiet, peace, and tranquillity ; so that nothing farther could be hoped, nor could hope be more happily fulfilled.

BOOK

II.

CIV. On the same day he adopted Marcus Agrippa, born of Julia after Agrippa's death. But in the adoption of Nero a distinction was made by these words of Cæsar: "This I do," said he, "for the good of the commonwealth." His country did not long detain in the city the champion and guardian of its empire, but speedily sent him into Germany. A most violent war had broken out in that country three years before, when Marcus Vinicius your grandfather, a man in the highest estimation, was governor there, and he had acted offensively in several places, and in several made an honourable defence, on which account triumphal ornaments were decreed to him, with a very pompous inscription reciting his performances. At this juncture I became a soldier of Tiberius Cæsar, having before discharged the office of tribune of the camp. For shortly after his adoption I was sent with him into Germany in the post of præfect of cavalry, succeeding my father in that employment; and during

BOOK nine successive years, either as prefect, or
II. lieutenant-general, I was a spectator, and, as far as the mediocrity of my capacity allowed, an assistant in his most admirable performances. I do not think that human nature can afford another spectacle like that which I enjoyed, while through the most populous part of Italy, and the whole length of the Gallic provinces, the people, on seeing again their former commander, who in merit and power was Cæsar, before he was so in name, congratulated themselves more warmly than they did him. As to the soldiers, the sight of him drew tears of joy from their eyes, and there appeared in their salutations an unusual degree of alacrity, a kind of exultation, and an eager wish to touch his hand. Nor could they restrain themselves from adding,—"General, we see you, we again receive you in safety; General, I was with you in Armenia; I in Rhætia; I was rewarded by you in Vindelicia; I in Pannonia; I in Germany."

CV. Words cannot describe the exploits that followed; perhaps an account of them would scarcely gain belief: the army marched far into Germany, subdued the Caninefations, Attuarians, Bructerians, recovered Cheruscia, crossed

crossed the river Visurgis, — afterwards rendered remarkable by a disaster of our nation, — and penetrated the parts beyond it. During the whole time, Cæsar assumed to himself all the laborious and dangerous parts of the war, assigning those which were attended with less hazard to Sentius Saturninus, his father's deputy in Germany, a man of manifold virtues. He was diligent, active, provident, able to undergo, and likewise well skilled in, military duties; but when business left room for leisure, he wasted the time in expensive indulgencies, yet in such a manner, that he might more properly be called splendid and gay, than luxurious or indolent. His meritorious and celebrated consulship we have mentioned before. The campaign of that year was protracted to the month of December, and rewarded our pains with abundant success. His filial affection drew Cæsar to Rome, though the Alps were rendered almost impassable by the winter. In the beginning of spring the protection of the empire recalled him to Germany, in the heart of which country, at the source of the river Lupia, the general at his departure had fixed his winter quarters.

BOOK

II.

CVI. It would require a large volume to recount the exploits which we atchieved in the following summer, under the command of Tiberius Cæsar. Our army traversed the whole extent of Germany. Nations were conquered whose names were hardly known. The several states of the Cauchians were reduced to submission ; all their youth, infinite in number, immense in their size, strongly guarded by the nature of the country, delivered up their arms, and with their leaders, being surrounded by our soldiers, prostrated themselves before the general's tribunal. The Longobardians were crushed, a nation exceeding in fierceness even the German. In fine, and what had never before been even attempted, the Roman army carried its standards to the distance of four hundred miles, from the Rhine as far as the river Elbe, which flows along the borders of the Semnonians and Hermundians. By singular good fortune, the care of the general, and a proper attention to the seasons, a fleet which had sailed round the windings of the ocean, came from a sea unknown, and hitherto unheard of, up the Elbe to the same place, and having defeated the troops of several nations, and acquired a vast abundance

dance of all things, joined Cæsar and his BOOK
army. II.

CVII. I cannot forbear inserting the following incident, though among affairs of so much greater magnitude. While we were encamped on the hither bank of the last mentioned river, and while the farther bank glittered with the armour of the enemy's troops, who, it should be observed, always retreated on every motion of our ships, one of the barbarians, far advanced in years, of uncommon stature, with a particular dignity of aspect, embarked in a canoe formed of a tree made hollow, as is their custom. Managing this vessel without assistance, he advanced to the middle of the stream, and requested permission to land with safety on our bank, and to see Cæsar. This request was granted. He then brought his canoe to the shore, and after viewing Cæsar a long time in silence, said, " Our young men are " certainly mad, they worship your divinity in " your absence; yet, in your presence, choose " rather to dread your arms, than to depend " on your faith. For my part, Cæsar, I have " by your permission and favour seen this day. " the gods, of whom I heretofore heard, and I " never

BOOK ^{II.} " never in my life either wished for, or experienced, a day of greater happiness." Then, having obtained leave to touch his hand, he reembarked in his little vessel, and continually looking back at Cæsar, arrived at the bank occupied by his countrymen. Victorious over every nation and place that he had approached, Cæsar, having his army safe and unimpaired, for it had been only once attacked by the enemy, and that by a stratagem, and with great loss to themselves, led back his legions to winter quarters ; being in haste to arrive at Rome.

CVIII. Nothing now remained to be conquered in Germany, except the nation of the Marcomanni, who, under the command of Maroboduus, had forsaken their original abode, and retired into the interior parts of the country, at this time dwelling in plains surrounded by the Hercinian forest. No haste can excuse my passing this man without notice. Maroboduus was of distinguished birth, of very great bodily strength, and a bold daring spirit, and though of a barbarous nation, was no barbarian in capacity. He held the sovereignty over his nation ; not a power founded on fortuitous events, or party-violence,

violence, nor precarious, and dependant on ^{BOOK} the will of his subjects, but a regular ^{II.} established government. Animated by a kingly spirit, he determined to lead away his people far from the Romans, and to proceed to some place, where being beyond the reach of more powerful arms, he might render powerful his own. Accordingly, having taken possession of the country above mentioned, he brought all the neighbouring states under his dominion, either by force, or on terms of agreement.

CIX. His person was secured by a guard, and his military regulations were through continual practice brought nearly to the form of the Roman discipline ; and to such a degree did he improve his army, that it became formidable even to our empire. His behaviour towards the Romans was such, that while he did not make war on us, he openly declared, that if he should be attacked, he had abundance of strength and inclination to make resistance. The ambassadors sent by him to the Cæsars sometimes presented his respects, as suing favour, and sometimes spoke of him as their equal. Nations and individuals revolting from us, received with him

BOOK him a safe refuge ; and on the whole, with
II. little dissimulation he acted as a rival. His army, consisting of seventy thousand foot, and four thousand horse, he kept in constant employment against his neighbours, and thus prepared it for a more important business than the present. He was formidable likewise on this account, that having Germany on his left and front, Pannonia on the right, and Noricum at the back of his territory, he was dreaded by them all, as they were always exposed to his attacks. Nor could Italy be unconcerned at the growth of his power ; for, from the summit of the Alps, which forms the boundary of Italy, to the frontier of his dominions, is a distance of little more than two hundred miles. This man and his country, Tiberius Cæsar resolved to attack the year following on different sides. He ordered Sentius Saturninus to cut a passage through the Hercinian forest, and to march his legions through the Catti to Boiohaemum,—so the country of Maroboduus is called,—while he himself determined to lead the army then serving in Illyricum against the Marcomanni by the way of Carnuntum, the nearest place in the kingdom of Noricum on that side.

CX. For-

CX. Fortune sometimes retards, sometimes frustrates, the purposes of men. Cæsar had already prepared winter quarters at the Danube, had brought his army within five days' march of the enemy's frontier, and had given orders, that he should be joined by Saturninus, whose legions were at nearly an equal distance from the enemy, and were ready to form a junction with Cæsar, at an appointed place, within a few days,—when Pannonia, having become impatient of controul from long enjoyment of the benefits of peace, and Dalmatia, now grown up to full strength, having drawn into their confederacy all the nations of that region, took up arms in concert. The business imposed by necessity was then preferred to that which promised glory; for it was not thought safe to keep the army at such a distance in the interior country, and leave Italy open to an enemy so near it. Of the states and nations which commenced war, the number of men amounted to eight hundred thousand; two hundred thousand foot were assembled, and well appointed with arms, and nine thousand horse. Of this immense multitude, commanded by very active and able leaders, one part was intended to march against Italy, which

B O O K
II.

BOOK which joins their country at the confines of
II. Nauportum and Tergeste, another part made
an irruption into Macedonia, and a third was
appointed to guard their own countries. The
chief command was vested in two leaders,
Bato and Pinnetes. With regard to the
Pannonians, they all understood, not only
the discipline, but also the language of the
Romans, and most of them had some know-
ledge of letters, and frequently exercised the
faculties of the mind. Wherefore no other
nation ever made war so quickly follow the
resolution to fight, or so speedily put its
determinations in execution. Roman citizens
were murdered, traders slain, a great number
of soldiers cut off, in that quarter of the
country most remote from the general, all
Macedonia was reduced by their arms, and
all things in all places wasted with fire and
sword. Nay so powerful were the appre-
hensions excited by this war, that they shook
and alarmed even the steady mind of
Augustus Cæsar, strengthened as it was by
experience in so great wars.

CXI. Wherefore troops were levied, all the
veterans were every where called out, men and
women were compelled to furnish freedmen

as

as soldiers in proportion to their income. **BOOK**
The prince was heard to say in the senate,
that, unless they were on their guard, the
enemy might within ten days come within
sight of the city of Rome. The Roman
senators and knights promised their utmost
exertions in support of the war. But all our
preparations would have been fruitless, with-
out a proper director. The commonwealth,
therefore, required of Augustus, to give the
command in that war to Tiberius, as the
grand resource in military affairs. In this
war likewise I held an honourable em-
ployment. After completing my service in
the cavalry, having been appointed *quaestor*,
and though not yet a senator, set on an equal
footing with senators, by being made a tri-
bune of the commons, I led from the city a
body of troops, sent by Augustus to his son.
Then, in the *quaestorship* having given up
my chance of a province, I was sent by
Augustus as his deputy to his son, and pro-
digious armies of the enemy did we see in
that first year. In the most critical situa-
tions, the wisdom of our leader enabled us to
elude the fury of their whole united force.
With what attention to the convenience of
the men did we see business managed,
under

BOOK under the orders of the commander. With
II. what wisdom were the winter-quarters
regulated. With what immense labour did
we inclose the enemy with guards of our
troops, so that they could not make their
way out, but destitute of provisions, and
inwardly raging, they pined away, and lost
their strength.

CXII. An exploit of Messalinus, in the first campaign of this war, resolute in the effort, and happy in the issue, deserves to be recorded. This man, more noble in spirit than even in birth, most worthy of having Corvinus for his father, and of leaving his surname to his brother Cotta, commanded in Illyricum, where, on a sudden insurrection, he with the twentieth legion, only half complete, was surrounded by an army of the enemy. He routed and put to flight their twenty thousand men; for which he was honoured with triumphal ornaments. So perfectly satisfied were the barbarians with their own numbers, and so confident in their strength, that they did not seem to have any fear of Cæsar. The division of their army opposed to him was nearly starved, as our will or convenience directed, and which occasioned

casioned a mortality, so that not daring ^{BOOK} _{II.} either to stand his attack, or to engage him when he offered battle, and drew out his line, they took post on the Claudian mountain, and raised a fortification for their defence. But the division which had poured out to meet an army brought from the transmarine provinces by two consulars, Aulus Cæsina and Plautius Silvanus, joined with the forces of Rhometalces, King of Thrace, who as an auxiliary led a numerous body of his countrymen, surrounded our legions, five in number, and struck them such a blow, as was near proving fatal to all. The King's cavalry was routed, so was the horse of the allies, and their cohorts were forced to retreat, while even in the body of the legions some confusion took place. But the Roman courage on that occasion entitled the soldiers to more honour, than could be claimed by their commanders, who, widely differing from the practice of their general, had never learned from scouts the situation of the enemy, when they found themselves in the midst of them. Some military tribunes were slain, one prefect of the camp, with a few prefects of the cohorts; nor did the centurions all escape, some of the first rank were

o

killed.

BOOK killed. But, in this perilous juncture, the ^{II.} legions exhorting each other, made a charge on the enemy, and not content with repelling them, broke their line, and gained an un-hoped-for victory. About this time, Agrippa, who had been adopted by his natural grandfather, on the same day with Tiberius, and had in the two last years begun to discover his real character, plunged into profligacy and alienated from himself the affection of his father, who was also his grandfather: but soon after this, becoming every day more abandoned in vice, he met an end suitable to the madness of his behaviour.

CXIII. Now, Marcus Vinicius, observe Cæsar; — as great in the character of a leader in war, as you see him in that of a prince in peace. On the junction of his own army and that which came to him, he had in one camp ten legions, seventy auxiliary cohorts, fourteen squadrons of allied horse, and more than ten thousand veterans, beside a great number of volunteers, and the numerous cavalry of the King: in short, so great an army, as had never been seen in one place since the civil wars. Every one rejoiced at this, placing their confidence of success principally in numbers.

But

But the general, the best judge of his own ~~own~~ ^{BOOK} II.
proceedings, preferred profit to shew; and, as I always saw him act in every war, pursued the measures that merited approbation, not those that happened to be approved at the time. The army that joined him he allowed to rest a few days, that the men might be refreshed after their march, and then, judging that it rendered his force too large to be kept in order, and too unwieldy to be properly managed, he resolved to send it away. He accompanied it through a long and very fatiguing march, the difficulty of which can hardly be described; for he thought, that as none would venture to attack the whole, so, their dread of the whole would deter any from attacking either of the parties on their separation. He then sent back those troops to their former quarters, and returning himself to Sisia, in the beginning of a very severe winter, appointed lieutenant-generals, of whom I was one, to command the several divisions in winter quarters.

CXIV. His conduct was truly amazing, not indeed shewy, but replete with real and solid virtue and utility, most delightful in experience and exemplary in humanity. During the whole time of the German and Pannonian

BOOK wars, not one of us, or of those who preceded
II. — or followed our steps, was at any time sick, whose recovery and health were not promoted by Cæsar with as much care, as if his thoughts, which were obliged to attend to such an infinite variety of important and laborious business, had no employment but this alone. There was a carriage kept always in readiness for such as wanted it, and in it was a litter for the use of the public, the benefit of which I, among others, have experienced. Then physicians, proper kinds of food, and the stove, a machine procured for that sole purpose, contributed to the health of all. We wanted house and domestics, but no accommodation that either could supply. The truth of what I am going to add, and of all that I have yet related, will be readily acknowledged by every person who was present on the occasions. The general alone always travelled on horseback; he alone, with those whom he invited during the greater part of the summer campaigns, sat at meals. Such as neglected discipline he pardoned, provided the example was not prejudicial; he frequently admonished and reproved, very rarely punished; acting a middle part, generally though not always dissembling

seemingly his knowledge of faults. The winter relieved us from action. In the following summer, all Pannonia begged for peace; so that the war subsisted only in Dalmatia. So many thousands of brave young men who had lately threatened Italy with slavery, surrendering their arms, which they had employed at a river called Bathinus, and prostrating themselves at the knees of Cæsar, together with Bato and Pinetes, leaders of very high reputation, one taken, the other surrendering, formed a scene, which I hope to display at large in my regular history. In autumn, the victorious army was led back into winter quarters; and the command in chief of all the troops was given by Cæsar to Marcus Lepidus; a man in fame and fortune the nearest to himself; who, the longer and better he is known, is the more beloved and admired, and is acknowledged to be an ornament to the dignified family that gave him birth.

CXV. Cæsar now turned his thoughts and arms to the remaining part of the business of the war of Dalmatia, in which country, how useful an assistant and lieutenant-general he found in my brother Magius Celer Velleianus,

BOOK is testified by his own and his father's declaration, and certified by the record of the most ample honours conferred on him by Cæsar at his triumph. In the beginning of summer, Lepidus drew out the army from winter quartets, and in his way to the general, Tiberius, marched through nations unimpaired in strength, and free from the calamities of war, and in consequence, daring and ferocious. Struggling with the difficulty of the passes, and the force of the enemy, and making great havock of those who opposed him, he cut down their corn, burned their houses, slew their men, and then, exulting in victory, and laden with booty, completed his march, and joined Cæsar. In reward of these services, which, if performed under his own auspices, would have entitled him to a triumph, he was honoured with triumphal ornaments; the will of the senate concurring with the judgment of the princes. That summer effectually finished this very great war, for the Dalmatians of Brechia and Desitia, notwithstanding that they were almost impregnably secured, by their mountainous countries, by the fierceness of their temper, by their surprising military skill, and more especially by the narrow passes of their forests,

forests, were at length, when almost ex- BOOK
II.pirated, reduced to quiet by the arms and personal exertions of Cæsar himself. In all this important war, or in Germany, I could observe nothing more great, or more deserving of admiration, than this, that the general never thought any opportunity of success so valuable, as to compensate a loss of men ; always judged the safest means the most honourable, and preferred the approbation of conscience to that of mankind ; nor were the counsels of the general ever regulated by the judgment of the army, but the army by the wisdom of the general.

CXVI. In the Dalmatian war, Germanicus, being sent forward into various places of difficulty, exhibited great proofs of courage ; and Quintus Julius Postumus, a consular and governor of Dalmatia, distinguished himself so much by his activity in the service, as to merit triumphal ornaments : which honour had been earned in Africa, a few years before, by Passienus and Cossus, men celebrated for some virtues of different kinds. But Cossus converted this testimony of his success into a surname for his son, a youth formed by nature as a pattern of all the

BOOK virtues. Lucius Apronius, who shared in
II. the actions of Postumus, merited by his
excellent behaviour in that service, those
honours which he afterwards obtained. I
wish no greater instances could be produced
of fortune's sway in all things, but in cases
of this kind her power is abundantly evident :
for Sejanus, a man of primitive manners,
who always tempered antient firmness with
humanity, after discharging the most honour-
able employments in Germany, Illyricum,
and Africa, failed, not of deserving, but of
an opportunity of obtaining triumphal honours.
Aulus Lieinius Nerva Silianus, too, son of
Publius Silius, a man whom those who knew
him could not too much admire, a most
worthy citizen and most upright commander,
was deprived at once of every advantage ;
for he was prematurely snatched away ; pre-
vented from enjoying the fruit of the prince's
warmest friendship, and from furnishing a
character as highly dignified as that of his
father. If any one will say that I looked
for a place for the mention of these men,
I will allow the truth of the charge ; for
candidly to do justice, without exceeding
the truth, is no crime in the eyes of the
virtuous.

CXVII. Cæsar

CXVII. Caesar had very nearly finished ~~BOOK~~
the war of Pannonia and Dalmatia, when, ~~BOOK~~
within five days of the final termination of
it, mournful news arrived from Germany;
that Varus was killed, three legions cut to
pieces, as many brigades of allied cavalry,
and six allied cohorts; so that the only
favour allowed to us by fortune was, that this
did not happen when our leader was em-
ployed elsewhere. The occasion, and the
character of the commander there, demand
some attention. Quintilius Varus was born
of a distinguished, though not noble family,
was mild in disposition, quiet in temper, so
that, being too indolent both in body and
mind, he was better accustomed to ease in
a camp than to action in the field. How
far he was from despising money, Syria, of
which he had been governor, afforded proof;
for going poor into that rich province, he
became rich, and left it poor. Being ap-
pointed commander of the army in Germany,
he imagined that the inhabitants had nothing
human but the voice and limbs, and that men
who could not be tamed by the sword, might
be civilized by law. Prepossessed with this
notion, he marched into the heart of Germany,
and, as if he were among people who de-
lighted

BOOK lighted in the sweets of peace, spent the
II. summer in deciding controversies, and
directing the proceedings of a court of
justice.

CXVIII. But, though a person unacquainted with those people would hardly believe it, while perfectly savage, they are exquisitely artful, a race formed by nature for deceit: accordingly they introduced fictitious disputes one after another; sometimes prosecuted each other for pretended injuries, and then returned thanks for the decision of these suits by Roman equity, for the civilization of their barbarous state by this new mode of proceeding, and for the termination by law, of disputes which used to be determined by arms. By such artifices they lulled Quintilius into a state of such perfect carelessness, that he conceived himself a city prætor distributing justice in the forum, instead of the commander of an army in the middle of Germany. There was at this time a youth of illustrious birth, the son of Segimer prince of his nation, named Arminius, brave in action, of a quick apprehension, and a promptitude of judgment beyond the state of barbarism, shewing in his

II

eyes

eyes and countenance the ardour of his mind, B O O K
who had constantly accompanied our army II.
in the former war, and had obtained the
privileges of a Roman citizen, and equestrian
rank. He took advantage of the general's
indolence, to perpetrate an act of heinous
wickedness: for he, not unwisely, judged
from observation, that no man is more quickly
ruined than he who feels no fear, and that
security is very frequently the introduction to
misfortune. Wherefore, communicating his
design at first to a few, and afterwards to a
greater number, he convinced them that the
Romans might be destroyed by surprise; and,
proceeding immediately to act upon his
design, fixed a time for the execution.
Notice of this was given to Varus by Segestes,
a man of that nation, of a respectable
character and great fidelity; but fate was
too powerful for counsel, and had already
extinguished every spark of vigour in his
mind. And such is the nature of things,
that, in general, a person about to undergo
a change of condition, adopts wrong measures,
and, what is most unfortunate, affords reason
to think, that what befalls him, has happened
through his own fault: and thus misfortune
is converted into guilt. Varus refused to
credit

BOOK credit the information, affirming that he
II. depended on the people shewing goodwill
toward him, proportioned to his kindness to
them. However, after this discovery, there
was no longer room left for a second.

CXIX. The circumstances of this most dreadful calamity, than which the Romans never suffered one more grievous in a foreign country, since the loss of Crassus in Parthia, I will endeavour to display in my regular history, as they have been related by others. At present we can only lament the whole. An army of great bravery, the flower of the Roman troops in discipline, vigour, and experience in war, through the supineness of its leader, the perfidy of the enemy, and the cruelty of fortune, was brought into a situation utterly desperate, in which the unhappy men were not allowed to attempt extricating themselves by fighting, as they courageously wished; nay some were even severely punished by the general, for using their arms with the spirit of Romans. The troops, hemmed in by woods, lakes, and bodies of the enemy, which had lain in ambush, were entirely cut off by those foes whom they had ever before slaughtered like cattle, and whose life

life and death had always depended on the BOOK
mercy, or the anger of the Romans. The II.
leader shewed some spirit in dying, though
none in fighting, for, imitating the example
of his father and grandfather, he slew him-
self. Of two *praefects* of the camp, Lucius
Eggius acted very honourably, while Ceio-
nius betrayed great baseness : for, after by
far the greater part of the army had fallen
by the sword, he advised to surrender, choos-
ing to dye by the hand of an executioner
rather than in battle. Numonius Vala, a
lieutenant-general under Varus, who in other
instances behaved well, was on this occasion
guilty of abominable misbehaviour, for, leav-
ing the infantry uncovered by the cavalry,
he fled with the horse of the allies, and at-
tempted to reach the Rhine ; but fortune
took vengeance on his crime. He did not
survive his deserted countrymen, but perished
in the act of desertion. The savage enemy
mangled the half-burnt body of Varus ; his
head was cut off, and brought to Marobodus,
and being sent by him to Cæsar, was at length
honoured with burial and a tomb according
to the custom of his country.

CXX. On

BOOK CXX. On receipt of this intelligence,
II. Cæsar flies home to his father: the constant
patron of the Roman empire undertakes its
cause as usual. He is sent to Germany, he
secures the peace of Gaul, makes his disposi-
tion of the troops, fortifies garrisons, and
estimating himself by his own greatness, not
by the confidence of the enemy who threat-
ened Italy with an invasion of the Cimbrians
and Teutonians, he crosses the Rhine, to act
offensively. Having struck terror into Ar-
minius, the preventing of whose invasion
would have satisfied his father and his country,
he penetrates into the heart of that region,
opens roads, wastes the lands, burns the
houses, overthrows all opposition, and then,
with abundance of glory, and with all his men
who crossed the river safe, returns to winter
quarters. Let due credit be given to Lucius
Asprenas, who serving as lieutenant-general
under his uncle Varus, by his manly and
active exertions saved a party of two legions,
which he commanded, from sharing in that
dreadful calamity; and by going down
speedily to the lower quarters, confirmed
the allegiance of the nations on the hither
side of the Rhine, for even these had begun
to waver. But some people, while they allow
that

that he saved the living, are still of opinion, B O O K
that he improperly possessed himself of the II.
property of those slain with Varus, and, as
far as he was able, made himself the heir
of the deceased army. Great praise is also
due to the bravery of a p^refect of the camp
named Lucius Cæditius, and of a party who
were surrounded with him at Alison, by an
immense multitude of Germans: for by
forming their plan with judgment, using
vigilant foresight, and watching their oppor-
tunity, they surmounted difficulties which
want rendered insupportable, and the force
of the enemy almost insuperable, and opened
for themselves with the sword a passage to
their friends. Hence it is apparent, that
Varus, in other cases certainly a man of
merit, and of good intentions, lost himself,
and that grand army, through his want of
conduct in the command, not through any
deficiency of courage in the soldiery. While
the Germans were venting their rage on the
prisoners, an act deserving of renown was
performed by Cælius Caldus, a man who did
credit to his very antient family; he took
hold of a part of the chains with which he
was bound, and dashed it against his head with
such

BOOK such force, that the blood and brains gushed
II. out together, and he immediately expired.

CXXI. The same courage and confidence of success, which animated Tiberius at the beginning of his command, still continued to inspire him. In various expeditions by land and sea, he by frequent shocks broke down the strength of the enemy, and by restraint more than by punishment quieted very formidable commotions in Gaul, and composed very violent dissensions of the populace at Vienna. At this time, on a request being made by his father, that he might be invested with authority equal to his own in all the provinces and armies, the senate and people of Rome passed a decree to that effect. And, indeed, it would have been unreasonable, if what was under his protection were not under his command, and if he, who was the first to bring succour, were not supposed to be entitled to one-half of the honour. Returning to Rome, he celebrated the triumph over Pannonia and Dalmatia, which was long due to him, but had been deferred on account of the several successive wars. Cæsar's triumph was very magnificent, and who can be surprized at it? But must not all admire

the kindness of fortune in this, that fame did B O O K
not tell us, as usual, that all the most eminent ^{II.}
leaders of the enemy were slain; but the
triumph shewed them to us in chains. On
this occasion my brother and I had the happi-
ness of accompanying him, among the most
distinguished personages, and those ho-
noured with the principal presents.

CXXII. Among other instances wherein
the moderation of Tiberius Cæsar shines con-
spicuous, this claims our admiration, that
although, beyond all doubt, he merited seven
triumphs, yet he was satisfied with three.
For who can doubt that, after reducing
Armenia, fixing a king on its throne, on
whose head he placed the diadem with his own
hand, and regulating the affairs of the east,
he ought to have enjoyed a triumph? Or
that, when he came home victorious over the
Rhætians and Vindelicians, he ought to have
entered the city in a triumphal car? Then
after his adoption, when he had broken the
strength of Germany, in three years of con-
tinual war, the same honour ought to have
been offered to, and accepted by him. Again,
after the disaster of the army of Varus, that
same Germany being quickly subdued, ought

P

to

BOOK to have adorned a triumph of the same con-
II. summate general. But with respect to him
you can hardly determine whether you should
admire more his constant fatigues and
dangers, or his moderation with regard to
honours.

CXXIII. We have now arrived at a period
of universal alarm. For Augustus Cæsar
having sent his grandson Germanicus, to
finish the remainder of the war in Germany,
and intending to send his son Tiberius into
Illyricum, to settle in peace the affairs of
that country, which he had subdued in war,
went with the latter into Campania, partly
with the design of escorting him, and at
the same time with an intention of being
present at the exhibition of games, consisting
of trials of activity, which the Neapolitans
had resolved to celebrate in honour of him.
Although he had before this felt the begin-
nings of debility, and symptoms of declining
health; yet the vigour of his mind withstood
them; he accompanied his son, and parting
with him at Beneventum, proceeded to Nola.
There finding that his health grew worse
every day, and well knowing whose presence
was requisite, to the completion of his wish
of

of leaving all things in safety after him, he ^{BOOK} II. hastily recalled his son, who flew back to the father of his country, and arrived earlier than he was expected. Augustus then declared that his mind was at ease; and being enfolded in the embraces of Tiberius, to whom he recommended the care of the state, regarded his end, when the fates should require it, with perfect resignation. He was in some degree revived by the sight and conversation of the person most dear to him: but the destinies soon overpowered every effort for his recovery, and his body dissolving into its first principles, he restored to heaven his celestial spirit, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, in the consulate of Pompey and Apuleius.

CXXIV. In this hasty sketch I have neither leisure nor ability to describe the universal apprehensions excited by this event; the alarm of the senate, the consternation of the people, the fears of the world, and on what a narrow line between safety and destruction we stood on that occasion. One thing I can aver in the voice of the public, that whereas we had dreaded the total ruin of the world, we did not perceive that it felt the

BOOK slightest shock ; and so powerful was the
IL majesty of one man, that there was no occa-
sion for arms, either in favour of the good,
or against the bad. Yet there was one
struggle, as it may be called, in the state,
between the senate and people of Rome on
one side, insisting on Cæsar's assuming his
father's station, and himself on the other
requiring permission to stand on a level with
his countrymen, instead of acting in the ex-
alted character of a prince. At length he
was overcome by reason, not by the attrac-
tions of honour: because he was convinced,
that whatever he did not take under his care
would be lost. His case was singular in this,
that he refused the sovereignty almost as
long as others fought to obtain it. After he
had restored his father to heaven, paying
respect to his body with human, and to his
name with divine, honours, the first act of his
administration was the regulation of the elec-
tions, on a plan left by the divine Augustus
in his own hand-writing. At this time, my
brother and I had the honour, as Cæsar's can-
didates, of being elected prætors, in the
places next to men of the highest distinction,
and who were priests ; and we were remark-
able so far, that we were the last recom-
mended

mended by Augustus, and the first by Tiberius Cæsar. BOOK
II.

CXXV. The commonwealth quickly reaped the fruit of its counsel and its wish ; and we soon learned what we must have suffered if that wish had not been complied with, and how greatly we had gained by its being fulfilled. For the troops serving in Germany under the command of Germanicus, who was on the spot, and at the same time the legions in Illyricum being seized with a kind of outrageous fury, and a violent passion for universal confusion, demanded a new leader, a new constitution, a new republic ; they even had the confidence to threaten, that they would give laws to the senate, and to the prince ; and they attempted to fix the amount of their pay, and the period of their service. They went so far as to draw the sword, and meeting with impunity, proceeded almost to the extremity of violence. They wanted, indeed, a head, to lead them against the commonwealth, but of followers there were abundance. However, all these furious proceedings were quickly allayed and stopped by the mature wisdom of the veteran emperor, who, refusing most of their demands, promised

BOOK mised some indulgencies without lowering
II. his dignity, and inflicted severe vengeance on
the authors of the mutiny: the punishment
of the rest was mild. On this occasion, as
Germanicus exerted his usual activity, so
Drusus, who was sent by his father expressly
for the purpose of extinguishing the flame of
this military tumult, which blazed to an enor-
mous height, enforced the primitive antient
discipline, and by strong measures, though
not without danger to himself, put a stop to
those excesses, so pernicious, both in the pre-
sent instance, and in the example; and with
the very swords of the soldiers by which he
was beset, reduced those who surrounded
him. In this business he found an excellent
assistant in Junius Blæsus, a man as useful in
the camp as worthy in the city. A few years
after, being proconsul in Africa, he merited
triumphal ornaments, and the title of Impera-
tor. By means of his character marked by
many virtues, and of the very great reputa-
tion which he had acquired in the war of
Illyricum, he was able to retain Spain, and
the army which he commanded there, in per-
fect peace and tranquillity. For as his loy-
alty led him to adopt the properest measures,
so his influence was fully sufficient to attain
the

the ends proposed. His care and fidelity ~~BOOK~~
were closely copied by Dolabella, a man of ^{II.}
the noblest candour, when he commanded on
the coast of Illyricum.

CXXVI. The transactions of the last sixteen years, as they passed in the view, and are fresh in the memory of all, it is needless to detail. Cæsar immortalized his parent, not by his high authority, but by his religious imitation. He did not name him a divinity, but he made him one. In that space, credit has been restored to commerce, sedition has been banished from the forum, corruption from the field of Mars, and discord from the senate house. Equity and industry, which had long lain buried, have been revived in the state; authority has been given to the magistrates, majesty to the senate, and solemnity to the courts of justice. The dissensions of the theatre have been suppressed; and all men have had either a desire excited in them, or a necessity imposed on them, of acting with propriety. Virtuous acts are honoured, wicked ones punished. The humble respects, but fears not the powerful; the powerful precedes, but contemns not the humble. When were provisions more easily

BOOK procured? When were the blessings of peace more abundant? Augustan peace diffused over all the regions of the east and the west, as far as the limits of the south and north, maintains perfect security of property in every corner of the world. Fortuitous losses, not only of individuals, but of cities, are compensated by the munificence of the prince. The cities of Asia have been repaired; and the provinces have been secured from the misconduct of their governors. Honour instantly rewards the deserving, and the punishment of the guilty is late, but certain. Interest is obliged to give place to equity, ambition to merit. For the best of princes teaches his countrymen to act rightly by his own practice; and while he is the greatest in power, is still greater in example.

CXXVII. Men who have arrived at eminence, have generally found powerful assistants in steering the course of their fortunes; thus the two Scipios had the two Lælii, whom they set on a level with themselves in every particular, and thus the divine Augustus had Marcus Agrippa, and next to him Fabius Maximus. The newness of these men's families

families proved no obstruction to their pro- B O O K
 gress, while they raised themselves to many II.
 consulships, triumphs, and to priests' offices
 in great numbers. For great affairs demand
 great assistants; but in small matters, the
 assistance being small does not mar the
 business. Then it concerns the interest of
 the public, that what is necessary in business,
 should be eminent in dignity, and that utility
 should be fortified with influence. In con-
 formity to these examples, Tiberius Cæsar
 has had, and still has, a most excellent
 assistant in the toils of government, Ælius
 Sejanus, whose father was prince of the
 equestrian order, but on his mother's side he
 is connected with some of the most illustrious
 and antient families, which enjoyed very
 high preferments: he has brothers, cousins,
 and an uncle, of consular rank; he is re-
 markable for fidelity, and for ability to
 endure fatigue; for the constitution of his
 body corresponds with the vigour of his
 mind. He is serious with perfect good
 humour, candid and open as the men of old.
 In the dispatch of business he appears like
 a man at ease; assuming nothing to himself,
 he therefore attains all things: is always
 more humble in his own estimation than
 in

BOOK in that of others; calm in looks and behaviour, but in mind indefatigably vigilant.

CXXVIII. The judgment of the public has long vied with that of the prince, in testifying an high esteem of his valuable qualities. Nor is it a new mode of thinking in the senate and people of Rome, to consider the most meritorious as the most noble. Even in antient times, before the first Punic war, three hundred years ago, they exalted to the summit of dignity a new man, Titus Coruncanius, bestowing on him, beside other honours, the office of chief pontiff. They promoted to consulships, and censorships, Spurius Carvilius, a man of equestrian birth, and afterwards Marcus Cato, another new man, not a native citizen but born at Tusculum; and likewise Mummius Achaicus. Then they considered Caius Marius, whose birth was very obscure, as unquestionably the first man in the Roman nation, before his sixth consulship; and so high was their esteem of Marcus Tullius, that his approbation was almost sufficient to procure the greatest promotions for any persons he chose. To Asinius Pollio they refused none of those preferments which men of the noblest birth could

could obtain only with infinite labour. Their B O O K
opinion certainly was, that he who possessed II.
the greatest virtues, was entitled to the
greatest honours. The imitation of preceding
examples, so natural to man, led Cæsar to
make trial of Sejanus, and Sejanus to bear
a share of the burthens of the prince, and
induced the senate and people of Rome
cheerfully to entrust the guardianship of
their safety to the minister best qualified
for the charge.

CXXIX. Having exhibited a general view
of the administration of Tiberius Cæsar, let
us now survey some of the particulars. With
what wisdom did he bring to Rome, Rhascu-
poris the murderer of Cotys, his own brother's
son, and partner in the kingdom? In this
business he was most ably served by Pompo-
nius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, and
qualified by nature for every worthy act, who
by pure virtue continually merits fame, but
never seeks it with avidity. With what
solemnity as a senator and a judge, not as a
prince, does he hear causes in person? How
speedily did he crush Libo, when he became
ungrateful, and attempted innovations? With
what precepts did he form the mind of his
German-

BOOK Germanicus, and how train him in the rudiments of war under his own eye, in consequence of which, he afterwards hailed him the conqueror of Germany? What honours did he heap on him in his youth, so that the magnificence of his triumph corresponded with the grandeur of his exploits? How often has he honoured the people with donations? How readily has he supplied senators with the property competent to their rank, when he could do it with the approbation of the senate, neither encouraging extravagance, nor suffering honest poverty to be stripped of dignity? In what an honourable style did he send his Germanicus to the transmarine provinces? What power did he display, employing Drusus as the minister and assistant of his counsels, when Marobodus lurked in the territories of the kingdom that he had seized, like a serpent lodged in the earth, and, may I speak without offence to his majesty, he by the wholesome medicaments of his counsels, compelled him to quit his den? In what an honourable, yet secure state does he detain him? What a difficult war excited by the Gallic chief Sacrovir and Julius Florus, did he suppress with such amazing courage and expe-

expedition, that the Roman people learned B O O K
that they were conquerors, before they knew II.
that they were at war; and the news of
victory preceded the news of the danger?
The African war too, formidable as it was,
and becoming daily more so, was quickly
terminated under his auspices and counsels.

CXXX. What structures has he erected
in his own name, and those of his family?
With what dutiful munificence exceeding
belief is he building a temple for his father?
With how laudable a command of temper
is he repairing even the buildings of Cneius
Pompey, that were consumed by fire?
Considering every thing that was at any time
conspicuously great, as related to himself, he
thinks it entitled to his support. With what
generosity has he at all times, and par-
ticularly of late, when the Cælian mount
was burned, repaired the losses of people of
all conditions out of his own property?
With what perfect ease to the public does he
manage the raising of troops, a business of
great and continual apprehension, without
the confusion of a levy? If either nature
suffers, or the low state of man allows
us to complain of such things to the
gods,

BOOK gods, what has he deserved? In the first
 II. place, did he deserve that Libo Drusus
 should form his execrable plots? Then, that
 Silius and Piso should follow his example,
 one of whom he raised to dignity, the other
 he promoted? That I may pass to greater
 matters, though he reckoned these the greatest,
 did he deserve to loose his sons in their
 youth? or his grandson by Drusus? But
 we have only spoken of matters of sorrow,
 we must now come to others of shame. With
 what violent griefs, Marcus Vinicius, has his
 mind been tortured in the last three years?
 How long has his breast burned with flames,
 and, what is most unhappy, such as he was
 obliged to conceal? How much grief, in-
 dignation, and shame, has he been forced
 to endure by the behaviour of his daughter-
 in-law? How much by that of his grandson?
 And the sorrows of this period have been
 aggravated by the loss of his most excellent
 mother, a woman who resembled the gods
 more than human beings: whose power no
 man ever felt, but in relief from danger, or
 in an accession of dignity.

CXXXI. Let our book end with a prayer :
 O Capitoline Jupiter, the author and sup-

porter of the Roman race, Mars Gradivus, B O O K
Vesta, guardian of the perpetual fires, and II.
all ye deities who have exalted the present
body of the Roman empire to a state of
pre-eminence above all the world, I, in the
name of the public, pray and beseech you,
guard, preserve, and protect our present
state, and our present prince! And when,
through a very long series of years, he shall
have discharged the functions of his mortal
station, grant him successors as late as
possible, but such as shall have abilities
to support the empire of the world, as power-
fully as we have seen him support it!
Prosper all the loyal designs of our country-
men, and such as shall be disloyal suppress!

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